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Shaposhnikov on Nuclear Weapons Outside Russia

PM1101163793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "Status of Nuclear Weapons Outside Russia Should Be Determined Before START II Treaty Is Ratified, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov Believes"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The CIS Joint Armed Forces Press Service has issued a report that on 21 January, prior to the Commonwealth presidents' meeting in Minsk, the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command will covene a meeting of the defense ministers of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan in order to reach agreement on the state ownership of the strategic nuclear weapons located outside Russian territory before the START II Treaty is ratified.

Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, told our military correspondent in an exclusive interview why the need arose for this meeting.

[Shaposhnikov] Regrettably, the reality today is that the missile troops on the territory of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine are still without any state affiliation.

The main reason for this, in my view, is that we have still not answered the question of whether we need a CIS or not. And if we do, what kind? This is the source of all the problems related to the strategic nuclear forces located on the territory of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine, which have still not received any clearly defined statehood.

Because of this, many problems relating to the social and legal protection of the servicemen have not been resolved, the Tashkent agreement on collective security is to all intents and purposes inoperative, and a mechanism for strategic offensive weapons cuts under the agreement between the USSR and the United States has not been devised. Moreover, a fall in the level of nuclear security has occurred because regulatory work has not been carried out in good time.

Or one other point: The West is currently confused as to whether Ukraine is a nuclear power or not. We are holding talks with the Ukrainian leadership. We are told that Ukraine will allegedly seek nonnuclear status. So, we do not understand what status it currently has. We need to be certain about such an important issue as this. They should either state that Ukraine is a nuclear power (what can we do if that is what they want), or take concrete steps to actually turn it into a nonnuclear power. But there should be no vacillation.

The lack of agreement visible in the actions of the CIS states is of concern not only to us but to the West as well. NATO is seriously thinking about setting up peacekeeping forces designed, in particular, for use in the CIS. A number of Western politicians have already been heard to voice the view that it would be far more advantageous for them to be dealing with a single renewed democratic state or union of states than with a large number of states where there is no stability.

[IZVESTIYA] What, in your view, might the Commonwealth become, and what role in it would you assign to the strategic nuclear forces?

[Shaposhnikov] The analysis we have done shows that two options are possible. The first is that the Commonwealth will remain just as "amorphous" as it is now. There are no coordinating organs. This is of no benefit to anyone. It is a road to nowhere. We would simply be wasting the people's money.

I think it would be more acceptable to have a Commonwealth in the form of close economic and military cooperation and with coordinating organs that have definite rights. Then it would be possible to set up within the framework of the Joint Armed Forces a command for the strategic forces of the three states—Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine—as long as there are nuclear weapons on their territory.

Chief of General Staff Lauds START II Treaty

PM0801214593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 93 pp 1-2

[Report on address by Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of General Staff of the Russian Federation Armed Forces and first deputy defense minister of the Russian Federation, to General Staff academy staff and students, as communicated by Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Press Service; date of address not given: "START II Treaty Is a New and Important Step on the Road to Nuclear Disarmament"]

[Text] The other day Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and Russian Federation first deputy defense minister, made a speech to teachers and students at the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Staff Academy. He paid most attention to a thorough analysis of the contents of the new Russian-U.S. Treaty on the Further Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons (START II).

At the beginning of the speech, the chief of the General Staff placed special emphasis on the fact that in preparing this document, a very high degree of coordination between the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense and the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry was achieved. Thanks to this, both departments have managed to formulate positions under which the new and fundamental reduction of nuclear weapons is in tune with the actual changes in the military-political situation, and at the same time strengthens Russia's security. It was also

noted that in assessing START II today, it is fundamentally important not to be guided by heated emotions and rash conclusions about the unwarranted concessions we have allegedly made to the United States, but by sober reason and an exact knowledge of the state of affairs in the sphere of nuclear weapons, and also by the results of the many analyses and forecasts that have been carried out. This is what the president of the country and the defense minister are calling for.

Col. Gen. M. Kolesnikov went on to note that under the treaty signed by the two countries' presidents, by 1 January 2003 the parties will reduce the total number of their nuclear weapons [boyezaryady] to between 3,000 and 3,500 or an even lower level to be determined by each side. This involves an unprecedentedly deep cut in the two parties' strategic offensive weapons—amounting to approximately two-thirds of existing levels.

This large-scale reduction in weapons numbers is combined in the treaty with deep qualitative transformations in the structure of Russian and U.S. strategic forces, which will lead to a significant strengthening of strategic stability. Among other things, this will be achieved by removing from the parties' arsenals, destroying, and discontinuing production of ICBM's with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles. These systems, which emerged in the 1970's, enabled the quantitative restrictions established by previous agreements between the United States and the former USSR on nuclear weapons delivery vehicles to be circumvented. With the appearance of missiles capable of carrying not one but several warheads each, a major destabilizing factor was introduced into the nuclear balance between the two powers, since the temptation always exists in nuclear planning to employ a version of the first strike in a crisis. Today, having agreed to eliminate all ICBM's with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles, the parties are rolling back the arms race, as it were, and doing away with this dangerous temptation.

The agreement to eliminate ICBM's with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles also has a purely practical significance for Russia. The fact is that the service life of our arsenal of these weapons runs out within the next 10-15 years and they would have to be destroyed anyway on a unilateral basis. Needless to say, neither constructing new missiles (their production base is located in Ukraine) nor modernizing them can be considered acceptable solutions in the current difficult economic situation. Hence the obvious expediency of "tying in" these inevitable cuts with the context of the Russian-U.S. agreement and thereby securing reciprocal steps by our U.S. partners as regards the destruction of a significant part of their own nuclear potential.

All the above certainly does not mean that Russia is being deprived of the basis of its nuclear might, its ground-based nuclear weapons. The place of "heavy missiles" (with 10 warheads each) will be taken by systems fitted with just one warhead, which is viewed by both parties as a stabilizing factor. Moreover, the number of warheads on SS-19 ICBM's will be reduced to one, which will enable us to keep up to 105 of these missiles in the armory of our strategic missile forces.

What is of exceptional importance to us, Col. Gen. M. Kolesnikov stressed, is the opportunity stipulated by the treaty to use up to 90 heavy ICBM silo launch installations for deploying new single-warhead ICBM's after they have been rendered incapable of being charged with or launching the former type of heavy missiles. It should be said that it was not easy to secure this decision which is very favorable to us, since the U.S. side was initially firm in its insistence that all silo launch installations for heavy ICBM's should be physically destroyed altogether. During the talks between A. Kozyrev, Army General P. Grachev, and U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger on the eve of the summit meeting, the Americans met us halfway. By using old silos we stand to make very substantial savings of around 2 billion rubles at 1992 prices.

Whereas the ground-based ICBM is the basis of Russia's nuclear might, in America's case it is strategic aviation. Here too major changes are taking place.

The United States has finally agreed to a real tally (not a notional one, as was the case with START I) of the nuclear weapons carried by its heavy bombers. Thus any potential opportunities for getting round the new treaty are eliminated. Under the START I Treaty, it was agreed that U.S. heavy bombers equipped with nuclear long-distance cruise missiles are to count as 10 weapons, although technically speaking this sort of aircraft can carry up to 20 such missiles. Consequently, the United States, which has always had the advantage in terms of strategic aviation, had the potential under the START I Treaty to use its heavy bombers in order to increase the actual number of its nuclear weapons [boyezaryad] by 2,000-2,500 units over and above the 6,000 envisaged by this treaty. This possibility has now been eliminated. Under the START II Treaty, the number of weapons on heavy bombers is to be limited to a ceiling of between 750 and 1,250 units, and the United States will have to cut its air-launched nuclear weapons [sredstvo].

Under the treaty, the U.S. side has also agreed to major cuts in the nuclear weapons of the sea-based component of its strategic triad—a threefold reduction from existing levels and half the level it planned under the START I Treaty. Moreover, this also includes the most up-to-date naval missiles of the Trident-2 system.

The successful conclusion of the intense work on the treaty is rightly being linked in the world with the desire by the Russian and U.S. leaders to really demonstrate the qualitatively new and specifically partnerly nature of the mutual relations between the two powers, to bear their mutual concerns in mind as much as possible, and to radically reduce the role of the nuclear factor.

As regards the impact of the deep cuts in nuclear potentials on our security, the number of nuclear weapons envisaged by the treaty—albeit drastically

reduced—is nevertheless more than adequate for effective deterrence. At the same time, Russia and the United States, by coming down to this low level of nuclear weapons, are entitled to expect that the other nuclear powers such as Britain, France, and China will join the talks process in the foreseeable future.

It is also important to stress that the implementation by Russia of radical cuts in strategic offensive weapons is based—and this is reflected in the new treaty—on due consideration of the parties' obligations under the existing ABM Treaty, which imposes strict limits on the opportunities for deploying antimissile systems designed to strike offensive missiles and which therefore remains the basis for maintaining strategic stability in the world.

In signing the START II Treaty, both parties have proceeded from the assumption that it will come into force after Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine have ratified the START I Treaty and fulfilled their obligations to accede, as nonnuclear states, to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

A no less important issue for us is the economic aspect of the treaty. Its realization will, of course, require considerable expenditure. However, the planned reductions will cost us far less than it would to maintain our nuclear systems at their present level of combat readiness until their service life expires. Moreover, the amount we spend on physically destroying weapons will be significantly reduced owing to cooperation with the United States in formulating and utilizing the appropriate technologies. The United States has pledged to offer direct financial assistance to Russia in order to safely eliminate nuclear weapons, which includes taking account of environmental safety.

But, needless to say, the "profitability" of the START II Treaty is not just determined by economic categories. The main point is that the START II Treaty strengthens Russia's security while the country is experiencing a difficult period of profound internal transformations by providing an appropriate reflection of the changes in the military-political situation.

Another fundamental point is that the document signed by the leaders of both countries in Moscow signifies a major contribution to resolving the problems of real nuclear disarmament and at the same time forms a basis for constructive cooperation in this strategic field with the new U.S. administration, thus ensuring the continuity that is so essential in these matters.

In the broad sense this is an historical document of a new era which opens up enormous opportunities for resolving some of the most complex problems on the road to cooperation and collaboration. It reflects the reality of the partnership relations of both Russia and the United States, the higher level of trust between them, and the two countries' unity of purpose in issues regarding the consolidation of mutual and common world security, Col. Gen. M. Kolesnikov said in conclusion.

Col. Gen. M. Kolesnikov, chief of the Armed Forces General Staff and first deputy Russian Federation defense minister, met with journalists from a number of publications 6 January. He familiarized the press representatives with the military department's position regarding the START II Treaty and related how work on this treaty had developed, and also gave an analysis of its key statutes. Col. Gen. M. Kolesnikov then answered journalists' questions.

Kolesnikov: Large Spending on New Weapons Not Needed

OW1101230593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1940 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mikhail Kolesnikov, the Chief of Staff of the Russian Armed Forces and First Deputy to the Russian Minister of Defense, reported to Interfax on Monday [11 January] that in order to carry out the Russian and American Start II treaty, Russia does not need to spend on a large scale for the development of new weapons systems.

He remarked that in 90 tunnels, the MIRVed ICBMs which will be destroyed according to the treaty will be replaced by already existing missiles. The Chief of Staff named as one possibility the updated, vertically launched "Topol" system.

Mr. Kolesnikov rejected the accusation by critics of the Start II treaty that Russian nuclear defenses are becoming the mirror image of the Americans', and this has damaged Russian security. He explained that since the treaty stipulates for significant reductions in Russian land-based defenses, submarine-launched strategic missiles will logically assume a more crucial role. "This is a natural process and not in imitation of the U.S.," he stated. "This does not effect our security."

The Chief of Staff expressed the opinion that due to the difficult economic situation of the army, it is in Russia's interests to sign as many treaties as possible which reduce the level of military confrontation in the world.

Berdennikov: START Treaty Does Not Give U.S. Advantage

LD1101131893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1055 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Jan—The START II Treaty does not give America advantages in the military field and does not reduce Russia's defense potential, Deputy Foreign Minister Grigoriy Berdennikov says. He met today with representatives of a number of deputies' factions belonging to the parliamentary coalition for reforms.

Grigoriy Berdennikov noted that the isolation of Russia and the United States from other nuclear powers would be preserved at a considerable level, even after the provisions of the treaty are realized. "Even after the year 2000 our nuclear missile potential will be sufficient to destroy the whole world 10 times over," he added.

"It is time to move the issue to another plain—to move from former confrontation of the two most powerful nuclear powers—America and Russia—to cooperation, including cooperation in the military field," the deputy foreign minister said. He named a number of aspects where Russia and the United States might facilitate mutual action. This particularly concerns issues of the nonproliferation of nuclear missile technology, the possibility of setting up a common center for early warning of a nuclear-missile attack, and also cooperation in the field of tactical antimissile defense. "We have already begun talking to the Americans about a global defense system," the diplomat reported.

During the meeting, deputies raised the question of the position of Ukraine in connection with the signing of the START II Treaty by Moscow and Washington. "If Ukraine blows apart the policy of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, it will place itself in a serious position before the world community," Grigoriy Berdennikov said. "By so doing it will create a precedent, and one can have no illusions about this: Followers of that precedent will immediately appear, and the world will be faced with a new situation, one that is more dangerous and unpredictable."

Speaking of the material advantages to be gained by Russia from the START II Treaty, the deputy foreign minister noted that under this article of disarmament we will save about 5 billion rubles [R] annually. At the same time the total sum of additional expenditure on arms reductions, according to him, will amount to R6 billion, but this will be stretched out in time, to the year 2003, when the agreement under START II should be fully realized.

As for the opinion of those Russian deputies who would like somehow to "retouch" some of the treaty's articles during its ratification, Grigoriy Berdennikov declared that such an action is unthinkable, since in that case "the other side—America—would immediately put forward its own amendments."

Further on Remarks

OW1101165293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1632 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dimitry Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] For Russia the agreement on a new rule for counting nuclear warheads stipulated by the START-2 treaty is "a serious breakthrough, from the viewpoint of strategic balance," said Deputy Foreign Minister Grigoriy Berdennikov at Monday's consultations with the parliamentary coalition of reforms.

DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] note: Under START-2 all nuclear warheads the two countries' heavy bombers can be equipped with, whether they belong to long-range air-based cruise missiles, short-range cruise missiles or nuclear bombs, are taken into account.

Under START-1 the counting of nuclear warheads borne by heavy bombers was relative. For instance, an American heavy bomber equipped with long-range cruise missiles was supposed to carry ten warheads, while some types of such bombers are capable of carrying up to 20 warheads.

According to G. Berdennikov, the Americans can view Russia's commitment to scrap its heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles (IBM) as "their success." However, he said, these missiles can be produced only by the Yuzhmash plant in the Ukrainian city of Pavlograd.

According to the deputy foreign minister, Russia's heavy ICBM will become outdated by the year 2000 or 2005. "We'll have to either build a base for producing them on Russian soil, or face the need to make our strategic weapons in a denuclearized state. Neither alternative suits us," he pointed out.

G. Berdennikov cited data which shows that the upkeep of strategic missile forces costs Russia 20 billion rubles (at the prices of mid 1992) annually. After their proposed reduction expenses for these needs will go down to 15 billion rubles. In the meantime the program for cuts START-2 provides for will require 6 to 8 billion rubles within 7 to 10 years. The Americans are willing to allocate 400 million dollars for these programs in 1993, plus 500 million dollars next year.

In answer to MPs' questions concerning Russian-American cooperation in the area of security, G. Berdennikov singled out several possible directions: the building of a global defence system, the nonproliferation of booster-rocket technologies, the development of early warning systems. Particular importance is attached to cooperation in the area of tactical anti-aircraft weapons, since at the moment tactical missiles present "the most tangible threat to Russia and the USA from third countries."

With reference to the attitudes to START-1 displayed by the other "nuclear heirs" of the former USSR: Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan, G. Berdennikov said he fears that Ukraine's parliamentary opposition, which stands against the plans to ratify the treaty, "might alter the situation."

DP's note: Russia and the USA recognized Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan as equitable participants in START-1. For their part, the three countries pledged to get rid of the nuclear weapons deployed on their soil

within 7 years, and join the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear arms as denuclearized states as soon as possible.

"If the Ukrainian Parliament fails to ratify START-1, and if Ukraine proclaims itself a nuclear power, this will create a terrific precedent [as received] for the other countries that are about to become nuclear powers," G. Berdennikov stressed. At the same time he hopes that Belarus and Kazakhstan will have "no problems as regards their joining the nuclear nonproliferation treaty," which was signed in 1968, and which has already been joined by 150 countries.

In an interview with DP's correspondent G. Berdennikov said that Russia's Foreign Ministry has already signed with Belarus an agreement, which provides for placing the nuclear weapons deployed on Belarusian territory under Russia's jurisdiction. "Talks on signing a similar agreement with Kazakhstan are in progress," he said.

No Major Problems With Belarus, Kazakhstan on START

PM1201113193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 93 First Edition p 7

[ITAR-TASS report under the "Disarmament" rubric and the general headline: "Why Does Ukraine Need Nuclear Weapons?"]

[Text] The Russian leadership has sent its special representatives to Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan in order to find out about the ratification of the START I agreement by the parliaments of these countries. There is absolutely no doubt that Belarus and Kazakhstan will not pose any particular problems, although Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev may well opt for collective control of the nuclear weapons on the territory of Kazakhstan together with President Yeltsin.

Kiev's Pleading on Arms Treaties Rejected

PM1101150393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 93 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Aleksandr Sychev report: "Washington Insisting on Immediate Ratification of Nuclear Arms Treaties by Ukraine"]

[Text] Nuclear disarmament and, in particular, the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) were the main topics which Ukrainian Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk discussed during an urgent three-day visit to Washington, where he met with President Bush.

Neither the Washington administration nor the Ukrainian deputy minister revealed details of the talks. However, the subject of the talks and the results reached by the two sides are known.

The deputy minister essentially repeated the attempt made by his president in May to persuade Washington that Ukraine is a "special case" and that a "special approach" to the problem of its nuclear inheritance is required.

Kiev is insistently reiterating its concerns about the policy being pursued by Moscow, demanding international guarantees for Ukraine's sovereignty and security. Kiev's second argument—concerning the destruction of nuclear weapons—ties in with the expenditure which the national economy, which is in a profound crisis, cannot withstand and for which it must be compensated.

Judging by the interview Tarasyuk gave to REUTER at Kiev airport, he has not yet abandoned the policy chosen by Kiev, although he did understand Washington's position. The absence of guarantees, he stated, is the specific factor making it difficult for the Ukrainian parliament to approve the two agreements in the nuclear sphere. On the other hand it is clearly premature to lend much significance to this remark—at that stage he had not yet had the time to brief the president and the government on the results of his mission.

In Washington the Ukrainian deputy foreign minister was given to understand that the U.S. Administration sees nothing special in Ukraine's position that would require the United States and the international community to take additional measures. Kiev has pledged to accede to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (this is one of the two documents the Ukrainian parliament is due to ratify). This document contains all the international guarantees of security which the nuclear states give to the nonnuclear signatories of the agreement. Besides, the United States and Russia guarantee that its provisions will be fulfilled.

It hardly seems expedient to formulate a special document just for Ukraine. Any attempt to do so will doubtless be regarded by some states as a revision of the basic international agreement and could prompt them to quit the treaty. It is fairly clear what this would lead to: a spiraling of the global nuclear arms race.

Equally negative consequences will ensue—and the Ukrainian minister was probably also informed of this in Washington—if the parliament continues to defer ratification of the START I Treaty and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Kiev's desire to sell the arsenal located on its territory at a much higher price is quite understandable. But it is doubtful whether the expenditure incurred in removing the weapons to Russia for destruction will amount to $1.2 billion.

Washington has confirmed its readiness to grant Kiev $175 million to cover the costs of removing the missiles to Russia and destroying the launch silos. Nor should any doubts remain that immediate implementation of the two nuclear treaties will open up for the republic the road to closer cooperation with the West, and possibly even larger U.S. financial injections into its economy.

THE WASHINGTON POST has cited remarks by an unnamed ranking State Department spokesman which

confirm the conclusions we have presented. He stated that Washington does not intend to discuss terms or persuade Ukraine to meet an obligation that has already been undertaken by the country.

This can undoubtedly mean just one thing—if ratification of the agreements is abandoned and nuclear weapons are kept on Ukrainian territory, which some 40 parliament deputies are insisting on, the consequences for the republic will be extremely serious.

Kiev must finally understand that the world community will not agree to review guarantees of collective security in the nuclear weapons sphere and will not grant any subject of international law special status at its own request.

Observer Defends Concept Underlying START II

PM1101153193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 93 p 3

[Article by observer Aleksandr Golts under "Topic of the Week" rubric: "Can Common Sense Replace Warheads?"]

[Text] If the New Year and Christmas vacations, which have been unusually long for Russians, have not eliminated the nervous state of our society, they have slightly softened the acuteness of the disputes and conflicts. It seems, however, that the atmosphere of general well-being certainly does not extend to the Russian-U.S. Treaty on the Further Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms (START II), which has just been signed.

It is good that the main provisions of the treaty have already been known for six months, and critics have not had to spend long studying its text in search of arguments. Moreover, some of these critics, to all appearances, do not intend to argue to the point. For them the treaty provides further evidence of the "national treachery committed by the government, in which agents of influence rule the roost." Consequently, this is grounds for a new stage of the political struggle. It is clear that such an emotional discussion, to put it mildly, will very soon boil down to what is constantly heard on the streetcar or bus: "You yourself are...an agent!"

There is no need to emphasize especially that any treaty is the result of compromises [kompromiss] by the sides. Given the desire, its opponents can always "find" compromising material [kompromat]. But, when making a serious assessment of an agreement, particularly one on such a scale as the START II Treaty, it is necessary to be guided not by emotions and political ambitions but by sober reason, accurate knowledge of the state of affairs in the nuclear arms sphere, and the results of calculations and forecasts that have been made.

For example, if you follow the logic of the new treaty's critics, it turns out that Russia, possessing a considerably smaller nuclear potential than before, will be unable to defend itself effectively. Is this so? In order to answer this question it is necessary to clear up another one: How, strictly speaking, do we define the nuclear potential that we need? As far as I understand it, it was not all that difficult to do this in the epoch of tough U.S.-Soviet confrontation. It was sufficient to define the number of warheads needed to strike at a potential adversary's main vital centers, military bases, and control centers. At the same time a correction was made with regard to the fact that a certain number of our missiles might be destroyed by an aggressor's first strike. Because nuclear weapons were becoming increasingly sophisticated, the number of warheads we "needed" was also growing automatically (in the end the number of them both in Russia and in the United States has become highly dangerous for peace).

So, if we remain within this system of coordinates, our parity with the United States (as regards the other nuclear countries, even after the reductions Russia will be left with far more warheads than they possess) will be upset not in our favor. But how are we to look at it? If, for example, you approach an assessment of the START II Treaty from the viewpoint of its impact on the potential for nuclear deterrence, you get a different picture. Today, as is known, the United States surpasses us in this respect by a factor of two or maybe even 2.5. When the reductions and limitations in strategic offensive arms provided for in the treaty have been carried out, there will be approximate equality in these potentials—the basis of strategic stability. Impressed?

In my view, a reluctance to see this attests to one thing: We are continuing rivalry with the United States in the nuclear missile sphere. And the treaty's opponents ought to speak honestly of this.

I can already see the ironic smile of skeptics: "Now he will sing about the new atmosphere of trust." I will not, although the new relationship between Moscow and Washington really is extremely important, and without trust the START II Treaty would never have been signed. I will not, for the simple reason that in their calculations military strategists rely not on declarations, even the finest ones, nor on the political situation, but on the actual potential of a particular state to carry out a nuclear attack with impunity. I am sure that none of the nuclear states even contemplates an attack now.

It is not, I repeat, a matter of trust here. The thing is that this trust has made it possible, maybe for the first time since nuclear weapons were invented, to assess their potential soberly and without the paranoia of the arms race. And to understand that it is possible to deter any possible aggressor with a smaller number of these weapons than exists at present. After Chernobyl, which affected almost the entire planet, only a madman could seriously plan a nuclear attack which would result in 1,000 Chernobyls (let us not forget that the United States is a country neighboring on Russia). The way I understand it, madmen are kept far from the nuclear button in Washington, in Paris, in London, and in Beijing.

Consequently, nuclear weapons today are, instead, political weapons. They are a kind of immutable guarantee that aggression against a country which possesses them is, in principle, impossible. I believe that, in order to have such a guarantee, it is certainly not obligatory to possess precisely the same number of nuclear munitions as the state which has most of them. It is clearly not within our ability to maintain such a potential from an economic viewpoint. For Russia is, after all, not the Soviet Union. These are the arguments of simple common sense, which, it seems, can replace at least a certain proportion of warheads, if not all of them.

Why is it that many of us, military and nonmilitary people, find it so difficult to understand this? In my view, the reason is psychological. For long decades we were convinced that the USSR was a great power. It was precisely the missiles, not commodities and the living standards of citizens, that enabled Moscow to talk on equal terms with the world's leading states. Remember the old song about the fact that things are bad and wrong in our country, but..."on the other hand, we make missiles." You now get the feeling that, by reducing the nuclear missile potential, we are abandoning the chief attribute of a great power.

There is a grain of truth here, but only a grain. Possession of nuclear weapons no longer elevates us somewhat in the eyes of the West. Even we ourselves get nothing out of possessing them. Yes, at some time arms reduction was the West's chief interest in relation to us. By reducing arms we could reckon on concessions and privileges in return. The whole point, however, is that that period is now over. I do not know whether this is good or bad, but the West has stopped fearing us. We have ceased being in its eyes a totalitarian state capable of destroying the planet in the name of some idea. The fact of possessing nuclear weapons today means only certain guarantees of security and certainly not automatic membership of a select club. Successes in the economy are needed to join that.

I certainly am not trying to prove that implementation of the START II Treaty will not give the country serious problems. These problems exist both in the economic sphere and also in politics. Consequently, there will be disputes. I only hope that the positions in such disputes will be backed up by specific knowledge and also by common sense.

Shaposhnikov Not To Attend Alma-Ata Meeting

OW1201123893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1206 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The General Command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces informed INTERFAX that Marshal Shaposhnikov will not attend the meeting between the Central Asian defense ministers to be held in Alma-Ata on January 15. The Joint Armed Forces' spokesman doubts whether the meeting will take place at all.

Earlier, with reference to well-informed sources, it was announced in the Central Asian capitals that during the Alma-Ata talks, the defense ministers of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan intended to discuss ways of normalizing the situation in Tajikistan.

Commonwealth Leaders To Meet in Minsk 22 Jan

OW1101174693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1727 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The heads of states and heads of governments of the CIS countries will meet for their session in Minsk on January 22.

Press secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov of the Russian President provided this information in response to Interfax query this Monday [11 January].

This date for the CIS leaders' meeting, which was postponed a great number of times, was proposed recently by the Belarusian leaders in their message to the CIS heads of states, crowning a series of multilateral consultations.

CIS Presidents' Backing Cited

PM1101161593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 93 First Edition p 7

[Roundup of ITAR-TASS reports under "Commonwealth" rubric: "Presidents in Favor of CIS. If It Works"]

[Text] The presidents of a number of Commonwealth states have expressed their support for the meeting of CIS heads of states scheduled for 22 January in Minsk.

The president of Kazakhstan will take part in the meeting of heads of Commonwealth states in Minsk 22 January. Nursultan Nazarbayev's press service informed a KAZTAG correspondent of this on Thursday [7 January]. It is expected that he will assume a resolute, clear stance in the capital of Belarus, a stance aimed at developing and implementing in specific terms the agreements that have been previously reached within the framework of the CIS.

Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev spoke in favor of holding the meeting of heads of state of Commonwealth countries in Minsk 22 January. "We were prepared to participate in such a meeting 4 December as scheduled, and also later, when it was postponed to the end of last year; we are also prepared to participate actively in this meeting now," the head of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan said in a telephone interview with your ITAR-TASS correspondent.

As your ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed by the president's press service, the intentions of the head of Uzbekistan as regards participation in the January summit meeting remain unchanged. Active preparation for the trip to the capital of Belarus is now going on. If this meeting too should prove fruitless, the heads of the states of Central Asia, who met recently in Tashkent, and who are firmly resolved to travel their own joint path, have agreed amongst themselves to meet urgently in Ashgabat.

"The CIS mechanism can work on consultative, deliberative principles, some questions can be discussed collectively, and there can be an exchange of experience. But the CIS must remain at the level of the member states," Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Niyazov stated in an interview with a TURKMENPRESS correspondent.

Summit Agenda Outlined

LD1101232393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2230 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Here with a preview of upcoming events is our correspondent in the Republic of Belarus, Petr Makritskiy:

[Makritskiy] I rang the CIS working group. There was a meeting there today in which the permanent representatives of the republics took part. The working group once again examined the agenda that has been drawn up for the 22 January meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state and government. The press service told me that the meeting confirms that Minsk is ready to receive the summit participants and that most of the documents are also ready.

First on the agenda is the CIS Charter. Then comes an item relating to setting up an interstate bank. This is followed by military issues. It is proposed that a number of changes be made to the provision on the strategic and to that on the Council of CIS Defense Ministers. [sentence as heard] Incidentally, prior to the state leaders' summit, or more precisely on 21 January, there will be a meeting between the defense minsters of Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. It is possible—it has been talked of—that the military department chiefs of all the republics that make up the CIS will take part.

The day before that, 20 January, again in Minsk a meeting of the foreign ministers is planned to look at the issues to be brought up at the meeting of the heads of state. [passage omitted]

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 12 Jan

LD1201065193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0542 GMT 12 Jan 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—By ITAR-TASS:

"Nothing so far heralds stormy debates" in the Russian parliament which has resumed its work, writes today's PRAVDA. Nevertheless, parliamentarians will not avoid keen discussions soon. These will be prompted in particular by the Russian-U.S. second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty START-2, the newspaper believes.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an article about START-2 by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Grigoriy Berdennikov who is of the opinion that the signed treaty "strengthens Russia's security in the complex period of deep-going domestic reforms".

The deputy minister believes that the treaty does not mean that Russia loses the backbone of its nuclear might, the land-based nuclear systems. "'Heavy missiles' with 10 warheads will be replaced by new single-warhead systems which are viewed by the two sides as a stabilising factor," he emphasises.

Russia and the United States, by moving to a lower level of nuclear arms, have the right to expect that other nuclear powers—Britain, France, and China—would join the negotiating process in the foreseeable future, Berdennikov points out.

He stresses that Russia and the U.S., having signed the treaty, "proceed from the assumption that it will enter into force after Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine ratify the START-1 treaty and meet their commitments to join the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons."

Next to Berdennikov's article, under the rubric "An Expert Appraisal", the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an article by A. Yelistratov who criticises many a thesis of the deputy minister's article. "It would be legitimate to ask the drafters of the START-2 treaty whether we shall be able to create within the next ten years anything qualitatively new that would be up to the newest American systems, the kind of the B-2 Stealth bomber?" Yelistratov queries.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) carries an article on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of a military operation to run the blockade of Leningrad. The newspaper recalls that the besieged city produced tanks, small arms and ammunition.

"Fifty years ago the loop of blockade was broken through but what kind of loop constrains the city nowadays? There is no blockade or war, but city life reminds one of ruin. Thousands of blockade survivors are not confident about their future and to some of them bread sold in bakery shops is almost as inaccessible as it was half a century ago. But this time due to sky-rocketing prices," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes.

Under the headline "Access to Archival Documents Widens", the same newspaper runs an interview given to a staff member of the Russian Defence Ministry press service by Colonel Viktor Mukhin, chief of the historico-archival and military memorial centre of the General Staff of the Russian Federation Armed Forces.

Last year more than 500 documents were declassified. This is approximately the same number that had been declassified over the past several decades.

Restrictions have been lifted on access to the documents of the general headquarters of the supreme commander-in-chief of the World War Two years as well as 68 documents and a secret book describing in detail the Soviet Union's first-ever exercise with real application of nuclear weapons in 1954.

The work to declassify historical documents, specifically those concerning the combat actions of Soviet servicemen in Korea in 1950- 1952, will be continued in 1993.

PRAVDA comments on the appointment of Vyacheslav Bragin, chairman of the Russian parliament committee on mass media, to be the chairman of the Ostankino Television Network.

Recalling that prior to being elected a people's deputy of Russia, Bragin worked as a secretary at a Soviet Communist Party district committee in Tver, central Russia, the newspaper writes: "The latter circumstance should in no way put the supporters of the Democratic Russia Movement on their guard. With the same party steadfastness, Bragin defends the president and justifies all his actions".

Among international topics, the newspapers highlight developments in the former Yugoslavia, the results of Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khabulatov's tour of Middle East countries, and a conference of six Arctic and Barents Sea states that opened in Norway on Monday.

PRAVDA Views Clinton Appointees

PM1101134593 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 93 p 3

[Report by correspondent Vladislav Drobkov: "Moving; Bill Clinton's Team Takes Over Washington"]

[Text] Washington—At 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, the "tenant" is changing. Instead of the Bushes and their dog Millie, the Clinton family and their cat Socks are moving here from Arkansas. The Bushes are returning to their native Texas, where the retiring president has promised to get involved in "his grandchildren's education" and in putting his extensive archives in order.

But the Washington "movement of the peoples" caused by the change of president does not end there. In all, several thousand new state employees—from secretaries to librarians—will move to the capital to take the jobs of the so-called "political appointees." They will be followed by their relatives and friends, lobbyists, and admirers of both sexes.

But the first to arrive in Washington will be the Democratic administration itself—the main group of people closest to the president.

Having promised to make his administration "more like America," the new president has kept his word with just one addition: "more like an America" of experienced and mature politicians and state employees, influential congressmen, highly successful lawyers, and prestigious scientists. There is not a single junior scientific staffer, not to mention the "workers and peasants," in the administration's new list, which numbers 18 people. Nor, indeed, is there a single manager of any bank or industrial enterprise; not a single actor, writer, priest, or even, alas, journalist.

The narrow circle of "decisionmakers" organically includes four black people, two Americans of Latin origin, and even a woman born in Czechoslovakia, Madeleine Albright, who has become the first U.S. representative in the United Nations and indeed the first U.S. ambassador of non-American origin. Let me remind you that Bush's administration had room for only one black American and only one "Latino," as they are called here. It is no accident that THE WASHINGTON POST calls Clinton's team "the most motley administration in U.S. history."

Omniscient U.S. statistics have already calculated that the Clinton administration will be younger than the Bush administration. The average age of its member is 51, while under Bush the average "administrator" was 58. Here the 46-year-old Democratic president has obviously given preference to experience over youth—the average age of Americans is now 33. Observers here immediately noted that the new President's team is considerably more grown up than the administration of his idol—John Kennedy. Early in Kennedy's presidency the average age of his team was 47.

A distinguishing feature of the new appointees is their ideological closeness to the President and sometimes their ties of friendship over many years with the Clinton family. The administration contains almost no one who did not take an active part in the Democrats' election campaign or was not connected in one way or another with the Democratic Party leadership. So that the most zealous Russian "fighters against the sway of the partyocracy" should sue the U.S. Democrats for usurping state power in the United States.

The majority of new secretaries have already belonged to presidential administrations, both Democratic and Republican. A considerable "seam" of Clinton's government is made up of people who acquired leadership experience in the executive power of states or large U.S. cities. And finally a certain proportion of the new administration consists of the personal, often longstanding, friends of Bill and Hillary Clinton.

And so the team formed by Bill Clinton, as our sports commentators would probably put it, is in fact a "blend of youth and skill." Despite the obvious desire to surround himself with people he has known for a long time and with people who think like him, the new president has been able to enlist truly well-known and authoritative figures who, moreover, have proven themselves not only in the administrations of previous presidents or in Congress but also in private business. Nearly all the new secretaries have at one time or another acted as partners, directors, or other leading staffers of many lawyers' firms and private companies.

The U.S. press is full now of speculation about the new administration's future course; about how closely its members are prepared to cooperate with each other. There are predictions that the Democrats' policy, to judge by the cabinet's composition, will be more conservative and more cautious than the election promises of Clinton himself. It is also being pointed out that the new administration members right now look more like skilled and experienced executives than similarly enterprising policymakers full of ideas in their own fields. In the opinion of a number of observers, Clinton and his "double," Vice President Albert Gore, have made up the administration in such a way as to retain the political initiative.

However events may develop in the future, it is obvious now that the composition of the new administration reflects quite well an energetic, experienced, highly successful America confident of its own strength and abilities. America intends to remain, as Clinton himself put it, "a political, economic, and military superpower."

IZVESTIYA Views Latest U.S.-Iraq Standoff

PM1101154793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 3

[Georgiy Stepanov report: "Saddam Husayn Backs Down Over Western Ultimatum"]

[Text] The White House has stated that Iraq has withdrawn its antiaircraft missiles from the zone south of the 32d parallel, thus yielding to the demands of the United States and its allies.

It is well known that the United States, Britain, and France, with Russian backing, presented Iraq with an ultimatum 6 January: Within 48 hours all missile complexes must be withdrawn from the zone within which its air force is forbidden to fly. The allies threatened Baghdad with military measures which, in the assessment of observers, would in any case simply be limited to an attack on the missile positions using "smart" bombs.

Baghdad's reaction was discouraging for the West: The country's parliament rejected the ultimatum and Saddam Husayn declared that Iraq is ready to inflict a counterstrike if hostilities are initiated against it. The Americans then put the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk, which is plying the Persian Gulf, onto heightened combat alert. Their aircraft flew more than 60 missions over the "no-fly zone" in order to gather intelligence information. It seemed that a new clash in the region was inevitable.

When the ultimatum deadline expired, U.S. spy satellites had registered the successful withdrawal of the missiles from the "no-fly zone." "Husayn beat a hasty retreat," a ranking U.S. military man said. "The U.S. Administration has declared itself the winner in this confrontation with Husayn, which will probably be Bush's last," ABC-TV's evening newscaster S. Donaldson noted.

Neutral commentators, however, are not inclined to share the Americans' euphoria. In their opinion, nearly all the crises in the Persian Gulf region follow the same model: Baghdad provokes an incident, throws down a challenge to the great powers, and retreats at the last moment. The motives for such actions are entirely understandable: Saddam Husayn is mobilizing his people, distracting them from domestic problems, and testing the combat capability of the West; but once the affair is over he deftly turns retreat into a political victory.

In the most recent case, Iraq had an excellent pretext. After all, the establishment of the no-fly zone in the south of Iraq last August was an initiative taken by the United States, Britain, and France, not the United Nations. No special UN Security Council resolution on this matter was ever approved. Last April the UN Security Council adopted a resolution condemning the Baghdad regime's repression of the Kurds and Shiites. This was basically the pretext used by the allies when they embarked on Operation "Southern Watch" in August. Iraqi diplomacy acquired juridical arguments with which it is now finding supporters in UN circles, as well as in Saudi Arabia and Egypt.

Once the war in the Persian Gulf region was over, the West, and specifically the United States, was unable to determine a strategy for getting out of the Iraqi crisis. The burden of relations with Saddam Husayn is being transferred onto Bill Clinton's shoulders. He, however, does not intend to walk away from the problem. "Iraq is making a big mistake if it thinks that because George Bush has one week left in power, neither he nor I will take measures which we believe to be the correct ones in the given situation," he told journalists.

U.S. Invitation to Scientists Seen as 'Treachery'

PM1201093593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jan 93 p 2

[Letter from G. Makeyev of Dnepropetrovsk under the "Letters to People's Paper" rubric: "Flight into Shame"]

[Text] It was reported on television that President Bush has signed an edict on inviting Russian scientists, first and foremost those working in the defense sector, to live and work in the United States. An invitation to treachery is what I would call the U.S. authorities' actions with regard to our scientists!

I understand the difficult position of our scientists, and indeed of the whole people, but is scientists' labor less important than miners' labor? Then why on earth do the scientists not demand an appropriate salary for their labor?!

It is entirely clear today that what lies in store for Russia is being under the United States' heel, and the United States is not the Mongol-Tatar yoke but a much more terrible one. I fear that this yoke will remain forever. Unless the entire Russian people rise immediately in response to the U.S. actions and demand first and foremost that the government be replaced, this will be the end of Russia.

Just think: Russian scientists are going to help their country's enemy to enslave its people! Of course, the flight en masse of Russia's scientists would not take place were it not for the treacherous policies of Yeltsin's government. At this point it is appropriate to ask both the Russian Government and parliament: How do they envisage the upsurge of the Russian economy when at the same time our scientists are being urged to flee their own country? I would also like at this point to put a question to the statesmen—who under their leadership is going to boost our economy? Prostitutes and pimps, racketeers and housebreakers, tricksters and smart operators of various kinds, street speculators and young bums at the railroad stations?! There are more and more of these kinds of people. So by whose labors are Russia's rulers going to boost the economy?

U.S., Russia Still Support Peace in El Salvador

LD0801200493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1838 GMT 8 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations January 8 TASS—Russia and the United States confirm their readiness to continue contributing to efforts on peaceful settlement in El Salvador, says a joint statement on El Salvador by the Russian Foreign Ministry and the U.S. State Department circulated today at the United Nations Headquarters as an official document of the United Nations General Assembly and the U.N. Security Council.

The Russian Federation and the United States of America, whose constructive interaction on Central American settlement has recently contributed to the easing of regional tension, state with satisfaction the peace process in El Salvador begun in Esquipulas and progressing within the framework of the Chapultepec agreements, has entered a new promising stage, says the statement.

Russia and the United States welcome political resoluteness of the Salvadoran Government and the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, who have overcome mutual mistrust in the name of fulfilment of essential provisions of the Chapultepec agreements.

Expressing the assurance in continuation of a dialogue between the Salvadoran Government and the front, Russia and the United States confirmed their readiness to continue contributing to efforts on social-economic revival of the Central American state.

Kozyrev Addresses Fleet Officers on START II

PM1201094593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 93 p 3

[Captain Second Class Vladimir Gundarov report: "Security Common Concern of Military and Diplomats"]

[Text] The conference of the six Arctic and Barents Sea states, at which a declaration on cooperation in the region is to be signed, opened in Kirkenes (Norway) 11 January. Traveling to Norway, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev stopped over in Murmansk. He visited the Northern Fleet's main base at Severomorsk. A meeting with the Fleet command was held. Andrey Kozyrev visited a nuclear submarine and the nuclear-powered cruiser Admiral Ushakov.

At the Severomorsk Officers' Club a meeting was held with representatives of units and combined units. Opening the meeting, Admiral Oleg Yerofeyev, commander of the Northern Fleet, noted that this was the first-ever occasion that the Northern Fleet had paid host to the foreign minister.

This town and the Northern Fleet are a focus for military and geostrategic interests which, taken together, determine our fatherland's security, Andrey Kozyrev said at the meeting with the officers. Russia today, like any normal state, has no permanent enemies that are ideologically fixed once and for all, but it does have permanent interests which are best upheld on the basis of the principles of cooperation and partnership with the outside world. At the same time, it is obvious that the world is not an absolutely safe place. New threats—such as regional conflicts and crises, the danger of the proliferation of mass destruction weaponry, and terrorism—are now emerging to replace the old threats.

Working in the interest of national security, Kozyrev noted, unites you military men and us diplomats. We and the Defense Ministry leadership have concluded an admittedly informal but, I think, even more reliable domestic military-diplomatic alliance. One of the results of its activity was the START II Treaty recently signed by the Russian and U.S. presidents, which takes global strategic stability to a new level.

The minister particularly emphasized that implementation of the START II Treaty will see a sharp increase in the importance of the naval component of our "strategic triad." The task of further strengthening the Navy's combat readiness and military discipline, and of training the personnel relying on the glorious traditions of the sailors of Severomorsk stems directly from this. In concluding the new agreement Russia proceeded above all on the basis of safeguarding its long-term interests in the naval sphere as far as possible. In particular, the treaty's provisions permit us to retain all our modern submarines in our force composition. This approach will allow us to channel released resources into maintaining a high level of combat readiness on modern missile cruisers with a strategic role.

Andrey Kozyrev linked the present and future of Russian diplomacy with the strengthening of strategic stability, the ensuring of openness in military activity, and the implementation of joint peacekeeping operations. With regard to the Navy this clearly means improving the level of confidence between the navies of Russia, the United States, and the other NATO countries. Specifically, it is a question of making naval activity more predictable, abandoning threatening and dangerous activities on the high seas, preventing incidents at sea, and developing contacts between navies, bases, and colleges.

The head of the Russian Foreign Ministry announced that a proposal is currently being examined to hold joint naval exercises between Russia and NATO in the northern region. The Arctic is ceasing to be a theater for military rivalry, and this is directly to Russia's benefit. In conclusion, Andrey Kozyrev stressed that Russia has been and continues to be a great naval power.

Answering your correspondent's question as to whether or not the START II Treaty requires Russia to develop

[sozdaniye] its own SDI in order to preserve not only quantitative but qualitative security parity, the foreign minister said that it is, of course, a question of moving toward qualitative security parity. He stressed that, as a result of the Geneva talks, agreement has been reached that the current START II treaty's formula on observance of the treaty on ABM defense is tougher than it was in the START I treaty. Moreover, it is comprehensive. We see the second answer in the Russian president's proposal on developing [razrabotka] a global defense system. Some commentators rather hurriedly declared this to be somewhat utopian. In actual fact intensive talks are currently under way between military and diplomatic experts in the two countries. These talks are producing unprecedented opportunities for joint work to guarantee security and essentially prevent a first strike.

[Moscow ITAR-TASS in English at 1617 GMT on 9 January, in a related report by special correspondents Vasiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelev, carries the following:

["Murmansk January 9 TASS—'In essence Russia has no longer permanent enemies. But there are interests which are best upheld on the principles of cooperation and partnership with the outside world,' Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told a meeting with the command and the personnel of the North Fleet. He also visited the 'Akula'-type nuclear submarine and a heavy missile cruiser.

["In his speech the Russian foreign minister dwelt on some aspects of the START-2 Treaty, signed in Moscow on January 3 by the Russian and U.S. Presidents. 'The time of devastating confrontation has become a thing of the past, when the world was artificially divided into enemies and friends,' Kozyrev emphasised. He noted that the Russian-U.S. treaty marked a new departure for global strategic stability, immeasurably strengthened Russia's security with due regard taken of its real economic possibilities and requirements. The treaty marked an end to the epoch of mutual intimidation, he noted. The North Fleet, Kozyrev stressed, 'will cease to scare away from the Russian shores.' On the contrary, its power, while guaranteeing security, will attract foreign merchants, will give an opportunity to tap more fully the economic possibilities of northern shipping. 'The Arctic will cease to be a theatre of military competition, and this is profitable both for Russia and its northern regions,' the minister said."]

Comments on FRY, START Ratification

LD0801235493

[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 1350 GMT on 8 January broadcasts the 40-minute recorded "Panorama" program presented by Aleksandr Vasilyev, which includes excerpts from an "exclusive interview" with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. Vasilyev discusses the latest round of talks aimed at reaching political settlement in the former Yugoslavia. Following Vasilyev's initial comments, the video shows footage of Kozyrev commenting on Russia's position with regards to possible intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Kozyrev says: "The main conclusion we have arrived at is, first of all, to let the political process begun in Geneva work. There is a temporary recess there at the moment, but the process will resume shortly. Second, we need to act jointly. The most important idea, I believe, is to act jointly within the Security Council and other bodies and not to attempt unilateral action. This is because this question is very complex, and it definitely demands coordinated, joint efforts. The third element, probably, lies in the fact that, after a serious discussion and analysis of the specific issues, it is becoming increasingly clear that no simplified decisions based on strong-arm tactics or interventions exist. I do not know whether this is for better or for worse, but this is simply an objective fact. It is easy to talk about various forms of intervention, but it is very difficult to imagine this to be in any way effective."

Vasilyev then discusses the main points of the START II Treaty recently signed by the United States and Russia. A second excerpt of the interview with Kozyrev is then shown.

Vasilyev says: "The START II Treaty still has to be ratified by the United States Congress and the Russian parliament. How do you evaluate the prospects of its ratification?"

Kozyrev responds: "I look at it with optimism because I am convinced that the bulk of our corps of deputies has sufficient common sense and adheres to fundamental national interests."

Vasilyev then asks: "Which aspects of this treaty may give rise to the hottest debates?

Kozyrev says: "I think there are many aspects of the treaty that might attract interest as well as the justified desire to examine them in more detail. This is right. After all, even though it may seem that the outline agreement that was reached in July contains all the basic parameters, nevertheless, it took an enormous amount of work, requiring many hours of work at the presidential level. When Grachev and I were last in Geneva for a couple of days, we were working literally day and night on the treaty. In other words, there were an enormous number of various details that, in general, required a lot of effort, additional elaboration, and so on. I think it will only be normal and natural for the deputies to want to examine these details. I am afraid that they will require many hours to work on this."

Assesses Ukrainian Reaction to START

LD0801201193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] The Ukrainian delegation, which is in Washington and headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Tarasyuk, is continuing its meetings with U.S. officials. Special attention is being devoted to problems of strategic offensive arms reduction and analysis of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Ukraine's stance on this matter is giving rise to contradictory reactions in Western countries. How does Russia's Government view this? Listen to the view of Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

[Begin Kozyrev recording] I must say that at the level of the country's leadership we have an understanding of the fact that Ukraine wants to fulfill as soon as possible its obligations under international agreements, first of all under the Lisbon protocol—namely to ratify the START I Treaty and the Treaty on Non- Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in the capacity of a nonnuclear state. After the obligations (?have been fulfilled)—after all, this means that all nuclear weapons on Ukraine's territory must be scrapped no later than eight years after the START I Treaty comes into force. All armaments which today exist in Ukraine—just as, for that matter, in Kazakhstan and in Belarus—must all be scrapped within the framework of the reductions which are provided for by START I no later than that time. And if one recalls the agreement concluded as long ago as within the CIS framework, at the request of Ukraine itself a deadline of 1994 was set for scrapping nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine. The parliament, the president, and the government have repeatedly stated and are now confirming their striving to be a nonnuclear state.

In my view, there is complete coincidence between the stated aspirations of Ukraine itself toward a dialogue [words indistinct] and the international obligations to do that very same thing in the near future which were logically adopted by Ukraine. Therefore, I think that this is the firm legal and political foundation on which we (?can resolve) this matter.

Another matter is the following: A number of conditions—I would rather categorize them as wishes to obtain additional security guarantees—are now being put forward. We are prepared to examine this issue together with the United States, together with Britain, if, for example, it is better. All in all, we should meet on all these issues, all the more so because the security of Ukraine is also a matter of our own security. So what problems can there be here? [end recording]

Defense Ministry Sends Nuclear Arms Draft to Ukraine

OW1101195693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1940 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Defence Ministry has sent to its Ukrainian counterpart a draft agreement on the status of nuclear forces in the territory of Ukraine, Russia's First Deputy Defence Minister, Chief of General Staff Mikhail Kolesnikov has told journalists. He said the draft pointed out that nuclear arms should be unambiguously subordinate to a certain state.

Kolesnikov said Ukraine was unable to cope with the complicated nuclear arms maintenance know-how and observe a "high degree of reliability and safety", the Chief of Russia's General Staff said. "They simply don't have the required services there", he added.

The Russian Defence Minister shares the world community's concern about the aging of nuclear warheads, which become ever less safer. "It is impermissible to reconcile oneself with a situation in which the neighbor may run the risk of having another Chernobyl", he said.

Official on Agenda for Yeltsin-Kravchuk 15 Jan Summit

LD1101132293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1237 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—A Russian-Ukrainian summit is planned to be held in Moscow on January 15, TASS learned from the presidential press service on Monday.

The agenda of the meeting is yet unknown, but Yuriy Dubinin, head of the Russian delegation at talks with Ukraine, believes that Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk will concentrate on nuclear disarmament, economic cooperation, the Black Sea Fleet. The summit will focus on all major issues of bilateral relations, he added.

The presidents will also consider the implementation of Dagomys agreements reached in June of 1992, he told TASS.

The problem of nuclear disarmament has become an urgent one after Russia and the United States signed the START-2 treaty. Ukraine has not yet ratified the START-1.

The two presidents are expected to discuss preparations of the full-scale political treaty between Russia and Ukraine. A consular agreement on visa-free travel between the two countries is expected to be signed on January 15, according to Dubinin.

Yeltsin and Kravchuk will also discuss the implementation of their agreement to establish a transitional period in solving the Black Sea Fleet issue until 1995. The presidents will look for a mutually acceptable solution in determining what is to be done during the period.

Dubinin believes a compromise is quite possible as both countries have already accumulated positive experience of cooperation. As an example he cited the successful

sharing between Russia and Ukraine of 7.8 billion German marks allocated by Germany for building housing for Russian troops withdrawn from that country.

Chernomyrdin Promises To Help Armenia

OW1101214393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the negotiations in Moscow on Monday [11 January] with the premier of the Russian Federation, Viktor Chernomyrdin, the president of Armenia, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, and the head of the cabinet, Khosrov Arutyunian, continued discussions on economic problems started the day before at a meeting with Boris Yeltsin. According to Chernomyrdin the focus of attention were issues related with the sustenance of Armenia especially electric energy. In talks with journalists at the end of the negotiations, the chairman of the government of the Russian Federation said that Russia "will do everything" to help Armenia overcome the present difficult period.

On his part L. Ter-Petrosyan noted that he found "complete mutual understanding" with the Russian premier and a "business approach" towards discussing the problems which he is satisfied with.

As a result of the negotiations two agreements were signed—on scientific-technical cooperation and cooperation in the training of personnel for high schools.

A number of joint documents, according to representatives of both sides, are being prepared.

On Monday the president of Armenia met with the Commander-in- Chief of CIS forces, Marshall Shaposhnikov.

Shaposhnikov Holds Talks With Armenian President

OW1101212593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1435 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press service of the CIS United Armed Forces informed INTERFAX that on Monday, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov had talks in Moscow with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, who arrived in Russia for a visit. Details of the talks are unknown.

Parliamentary Delegation To Study 'Chinese Experience'

LD1201094693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0742 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Oreshin]

[Text] Beijing January 12 TASS—Experience gained by other countries, particularly China, which has made a great leap in its economic development in recent years, can come in handy in implementing economic reforms in Russia, according to Deputy Chairman of the Russian Parliament Yuriy Voronin, who is leading a Russian Parliament delegation which has left on a visit to China.

Voronin said that a special interest in the Chinese experience is evoked by the fact that our countries had developed along similar ways in the past. In switching over to a market economy China, in contrast to Russia, managed to preserve to a certain extent its state system of economic management. It would be useful to analyze the functioning of that mechanism and China's experience in establishing special economic zones, the Russian delegation leader said.

Asked about prospects for the ratification of the START-2 treaty, Yuriy Voronin said that the Russian Parliament was in for "heated debate". Members of the parliament Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations differ in their evaluation of the treaty.

Voronin said the treaty's economic aspect provoked some objections. It is necessary to taking to account the interrelations with Ukraine and Kazakhstan. One must not forget that Russia and other Commonwealth countries must compare were [as received] nuclear potential not only to that of the United States but also of other nuclear powers, including China. It is difficult to say at this point how the debates will proceed, Voronin stressed.

During the Chinese visit, the Russian parliamentarians will meet the Chinese leaders Li Peng and Wan Li. The delegation is also due to visit China's major industrial centre Shanghai.

Trade With China Expected To Reach $6 Billion

OW1001221693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1856 GMT 10 Jan 93

[From the "Foreign Trade" section of the "Business Report"; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Foreign trade between Russian and China may reach $6 billion in 1993, a nearly 15% increase over 1992, said experts from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. The increase in trade turnover is due largely to sizable trade and economic agreements signed during Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Beijing in December.

Under the protocol on trade turnover for 1993 Russia will send China equipment for electric power stations, freight and passenger vehicles, replacement parts, equipment for the reconstruction of metallurgy, wood pulp, and other enterprises built by the Soviet Union in China during the '50's. China will send Russia various food items, clothing, shoes, and other consumer goods, machine tools, and batteries.

The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations said the protocol envisages trade in the government sector only. Most trade turnover between the two nations will consist of border trade and direct contracts between firms.

China and Russia also signed an agreement on the joint construction of a 2 thousand megawatt nuclear power plant in China. Russia will grant China a $2.5 billion 13 year credit at 4% annually (and two grace years from the launching of the first reactor). China will repay 10% of the credit in hard currency and the remainder in food products, consumer goods, machine tools, instruments and household electronics. The credit will be used to purchase Russian equipment for the nuclear power plant, to pay for the processing of technical documentation in Russia and assembly operations.

Two agreements were also signed to grant Russia credits to purchase Chinese foodstuffs, in particular, corn and peanuts. The 300 million yen [as received] in credits (nearly $52 million) will be issued for 3 years at 4%. Russia will repay the credits in sheet metal and commercial wood.

New ROK President on Ties With Moscow, Beijing

LD1001093093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0839 GMT 10 Jan 93

[By Vladimir Kutakhov]

[Text] Tokyo January 10 TASS—"The normalisation of inter-state relations with the Russian Federation and China is important, because it ensures the security of the Republic of Korea and because it will help reunify North and South Korea," the new South Korean President Kim Yong-sam told a correspondent of the newspaper "ASAHI" in the course of his first interview after the recent general elections.

"This is explained by the fact," Kim Yong-sam noted, "that Moscow and Beijing still maintain relations with Pyongyang and are in a position to exert some influence on the Korean People's Democratic Republic." However, the policy of his administration will be based, as before, mainly on relations with Japan and the United States.

Touching on the problem of further promoting relations between North and South Korea, Kim Yong-sam noted that South Korea could in the future discontinue the regularly held joint American-South Korean "Team Spirit" exercises, provided Pyongyang agrees to the mutual inspection of nuclear installations. Russia and China, Kim Yong-sam believes, can play an important role in the solution of this problem, but if their efforts prove futile, then it will be up to the U.N. Security Council to adopt a corresponding decision. Both sides must conduct talks and make progress towards unification, he said.

KAL-007 Black Box Material Handed to ICAO

LD0801194793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1820 GMT 8 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Neuilly-sur-Seine (Departement Hauts de Seine), 8 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—The original recordings of the so-called "black box" of the Boeing airliner of the South Korean airline company, KAL, shot down in 1983 near Sakhalin, were today handed over by Russian representatives to the International Civil Aviation Organization [ICAO]. The handing-over ceremony took place in the ICAO's Europe and North Atlantic division in a suburb of the French capital. The handing-over by Russia of this material followed a decision by the ICAO Council to hold an additional investigation into the circumstances of the tragedy which took place almost 10 years ago, together with representatives of Russia, the Republic of Korea, Japan, and the United States.

On the initiative President Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Federation has done much to discard the burden of the past and enter the world community of democratic nations. This was said by Yuriy Petrov, head of the Russian state commission investigating the circumstances of the South Korean Boeing disaster and head of the presidential administration [as received], while handing over the documents—the recordings of the flight recorders registering the conversations of the KAL-007 flight crew and other information on the flight. Free democratic Russia wants to make its contribution to the changes for the better taking place in the modern world—the strengthening of trust, mutual understanding, and international security, he noted. Russia is ready for cooperation with the ICAO to investigate this incident in order to avoid similar tragedies in the future. Later, if it proves necessary, we are also willing to hand over to the ICAO other documents which we have at our disposal. All ICAO inquiries on this matter will be dealt with rigorously, the Russian representative said.

The decision by the Russian leadership to hand over the South Korean Boeing's "black box" recordings, Yu. Petrov continued, was dictated first and foremost by the aspiration to thorougly and objectively examine what happened on 31 August 1983. We do not want to accuse anyone, but nor do we want to justify ourselves in front of anyone, he noted.

In reply, Philippe Rochat, secretary general of the ICAO, spoke at the ceremony on behalf of the ICAO. I would like to express profound gratitude to the president and government of Russia for handing to us the originals of

the tape recordings, he said in his speech. This step, undoubtably, must make an important contribution to a more thorough investigation into the circumstances of the tragedy. All this undoubtably will also help increase the level of safety of international air communications. In their speeches, the representatives of the three other states working with Russia on the ICAO investigation—the United States, South Korea, and Japan—also said that this decision by the Russian leadership is important in helping establish the full truth about KAL-007.

I think that studying the on-board recordings of the South Korean Boeing is one of the core issues in the investigation of this incident, Yu. Petrov told ITAR-TASS after the ceremony. As you know, the greater part of them have still to be deciphered, especially flight data. The ICAO has now received documents that I think will allow all the finer technical aspects of the incident to be revealed. One might say that we've made what is almost the final move. To repeat, Russia is ready to answer all questions that the ICAO might ask, and we hope that the three other states taking part in the investigation will follow suit.

Mongolian President To Visit 19-21 Jan

LD1101182593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1759 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Mongolian President P. Ochirbat will visit Russia on January 19-21, 1993 at the invitation of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, the Russian Foreign Ministry reported on Monday [11 January].

Chilean Parliamentary Delegation Visits Moscow

LD1001091993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0809 GMT 10 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—Next Tuesday Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov is to meet a Chilean National Congress delegation that arrived here on Saturday for an official visit at the invitation of the Russian parliament.

Delegation leader Jose Antonio Viera Gallo, president of the Chamber of Deputies of the Chilean parliament, is expected to arrive here later on Sunday, a spokesman at the Russian Parliament Press Centre told ITAR-TASS.

For five days the guests will be familiarising themselves with the Russian parliament activities and the work of parliamentary committees and commissions.

The Chilean delegation is expected to meet with Russian Vice- President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Deputy Premier Aleksandr Shokhin and call on the Russian Foreign Ministry and the Moscow mayor's office.

Stresses Joint Projects

OW1101133593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1141 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday, a Chilean parliamentary delegation began its official visit to Russia. It had arrived in Moscow earlier, on the invitation of the Russian parliament. Head of the delegation, chairman of the Chilean National Congress Chamber of Deputies, Jose Antonio Viera-Gallo told reporters upon his arrival in Moscow that he favored economic cooperation with Russia. He also said that the Chilean government and parliament were ready to give guarantees to the Chilean entrepreneurs who ventured to explore the Russian market.

In his opinion, joint fishing and mining projects might hold the greatest promise. "However, representatives of the Chilean banks are especially active on the Russian market now," he added.

When asked about East Germany's former leader Erich Honecker, whom the German authorities may release from prison for health reasons, he said that the Chilean government was ready to permit Honecker to join the relatives who currently live in Santiago de Chile.

Views Relations, Honecker Case

OW1101192993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1634 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dimitry Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [11 January] a parliamentary delegation from Chile began its official visit to Russia. The head of the delegation, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of Chile's National Congress, Jose Antonio Viera-Gallo, arrived in Moscow on Sunday. He told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent at the airport that Chile attaches enormous importance to the development of ties with Russia in all areas. He would like to thank the Russian authorities for their solidarity with the people of Chile displayed at the time of the dictatorship, he said.

When Chile returned to the road of democracy, J.A.Viera-Gallo said, serious economic cooperation began to develop between the two countries. According to him, Russia's option in favor of free- market economy expanded its prospects, including those in the most promising areas, such as fishery and mining.

The Government and Parliament of Chile, said J.A.Viera-Gallo, are willing to grant certain guarantees to Chilean entrepreneurs who venture to work in the Russian market.

With reference to the Erich Honecker case, the Chilean MP said that, "should the Berlin judiciary decide to free the former East German leader who is seriously ill, the Chilean Government will be prepared to give him the opportunity to unite with his relatives residing in Santiago." The program of the Chilean delegation includes meetings with Russian parliamentarians and a visit to the Gorbachev Foundation. At 11:30 on Tuesday the guests are expected to meet with the Speaker of Russia's Parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov. At 12:00 on Wednesday the visiting members of Chile's National Congress are planning to confer with Russia's.

Foreign Trade Official Views Indian Relations

LD1001223593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1135 GMT 10 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Karmalito]

[Text] Delhi, 10 Jan—Russia considers that India plays "a special role in the system of its foreign economic priorities." This fundamental position was confirmed by Vladimir Shibayev, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, in an interview to an ITAR-TASS correspondent. He underlined that the Russian leadership attaches very great significance to the upcoming official visit to India by President Boris Yeltsin from the viewpoint of deepening commercial and economic ties between the two countries.

"We believe that at the present time it is most necessary to give a political boost to the new system of our relations, and we hope that this visit will not disappoint our expectations." He said that India has long been one of the biggest trading partners of the USSR, but even after the disintegration of the Soviet Union it has not lost its significance for us. Despite the fact that bilateral trade turnover in 1992 was almost halved, the work which has been done allows us to expect the restoration of the same level and volume of these ties in the nearest future.

Vladimir Shibayev admitted that in 1992 centralized trade with India did not develop "according to our expectations." The clearing system of settling accounts in the economic model introduced in Russia, taking into account the economic difficulties existing in India in 1992, did not give enough incentives to exporters and demanded budget financing. At the same time, direct ties over the last year have increased more than four-fold. The deputy minister considers that in future energy carriers and mineral fertilizers will be delivered from Russia to India exactly within the framework of such ties.

Touching upon paying off the credits granted to India by the former USSR and the problem of revising the ruble-rupee exchange rate, which is connected with this, Shibayev said: "We are ready to soften the conditions of paying off the credits by India, but it does not mean that we should cancel all debts, as was characteristic of the former Soviet Union." Shibayev noted that his negotiations with the heads of the leading ministries and departments and his meetings with representatives of the business circles "confirm India's attachment to cooperation with Russia and to the course for its further strengthening and development." "We are natural partners, we need each other's goods and in the end, the future lies in such a natural partnership," he said.

Both Russia and India are now at the stage of the deepest social and economic transformations. It is very important exactly in such a period to lean on the shoulder of a reliable partner, whose loyalty has been proved over many a decade."

Indian Officials Discuss Asian-Pacific Region

LD1001140293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1302 GMT 10 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Karmalito]

[Text] New Delhi January 10 TASS—Representatives of Indian and Russian Foreign Ministries held consultations devoted to problems of the Asian-Pacific region in New Delhi on Sunday. The consultations confirmed mutual desire of both countries to maintain an active dialogue with the aim of finding a solution to global and regional problems.

Nikolay Solovyev, director of the Asia and Pacific region department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, said before departure to Moscow that the meeting in New Delhi marks the beginning of the resumption of a negotiating process between the two countries in this foreign policy direction, which, according to Indian officials, is of great importance on the eve of an official visit to India by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The meeting showed that the idea of establishing more close contacts between Russia, India and China is received with understanding and interest in the Indian capital and opens new opportunities for the development of cooperation and strengthening of confidence.

During the consultations India displayed its readiness to join a negotiating mechanism which is being worked out in the interests of peace and security in Asia.

Estonian, Russian Border Experts Meet in Pskov

WS0801131293 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1630 GMT 7 Jan 92

[From 7 January PAEVALEHT, p.1]

[Text] Thursday, January 7—Estonian and Russian border experts delegations, headed respectively by Estonian Foreign Ministry advisor Raul Malk and head of Russian Border Guard northwestern region Lieutenant General Konstantin Plesko, met in Pskov yesterday. The 18-hour meeting concerned several problems of mutual interest but no agreements were reached. Estonian

border Guard Director General Andrus Oovel told PAEVALEHT. The Russian delegation claimed to be unprepared concerning the return of the Kurdish refugees to Russia, despite a bilateral agreement on border problems which provides for the return of illegal immigrants to the country they originally came from.

Heads of Voru and Polva Counties and the petsari region in Russia discussed the introduction of a simplified border crossing procedure for people living adjacent to the border. The Russian side suggested that an interstate agreement be concluded. The Russian border guard officers announced that they expected to be paid compensation for the guard stations in Estonia. The Estonian delegation referred to the parliament resolution declaring the military objects to be the property of Estonia.

The Russian side rejected the proposal of the Narva City Council of constructing a border checkpoint to the Ivangorod side of river. Such attempts were unsuccessful on Russia's borders with Poland and Finland, they explained."There will be no other way but to construct the checkpoint in Narva," Oovel said.

Yeltsin Confers With Chernomyrdin, Rutskoy, Chubays

OW1201123293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1222 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the Kremlin on Tuesday [12 January] President Boris Yeltsin conferred with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, Deputy Premier Anatoliy Chubays and the chairman of the Council of Nationalities of Russia's Parliament, Ramazan Abdulatipov. An INTERFAX correspondent learned from reliable sources that each of these meetings lasted for about an hour.

The prime minister and president discussed issues connected with the routine work of the government. The president and Rutskoy discussed issues concerning the competence of the vice-president. The two men also considered a draft program for reforms in farming and agricultural development to be submitted to the Parliament, and they discussed the crime situation in Russia.

[Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1100 GMMT on 12 January adds the following:

["A meeting took place in the Kremlin today between President Boris Yeltsin of Russia and Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation. As the RIA agency reports, the content of the 90-minute conversation is not yet known. It is believed that they discussed questions connected with the coming summit meeting between the leaders of Ukraine and Russia.

["It was also decided that from now on the president will have a weekly meeting with the prime minister on Tuesdays."]

Yeltsin in 'Conspiratorial' Talks With Court Chairman

LD1201124893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Monday evening [11 January] saw not only a sitting of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium, but also a meeting between President Boris Yeltsin and Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin. This was evidently anything but conventional as far as the niceties of protocol go. Over to my colleague Andrey Krasnov:

[Krasnov] The official reports on this meeting were remarkably scanty. Journalists were given absolutely no details. The president's press secretary, Vyacheslav Kostikov, said only that at the meeting there was discussion of the problem of dividing legislative and executive power, and of the referendum to be held in April.

However, the conspiratorial negotiations between Boris Yeltsin and Valeriy Zorkin may have important political consequences. The president's actions over the last two weeks have clearly demonstrated that Boris Yeltsin is carrying out a decisive regrouping of forces. Sergey Filatov's transfer from the post of first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet to the post of presidential chief of staff, and Vyacheslav Bragin's appointment as Ostankino chairman, would appear to be no accident. Yeltsin is clearly in a mood to get his own back on the Khasbulatov-run Supreme Soviet, and is hastily getting together a strong team.

Literally before our very eyes, individuals personally devoted to the president are taking up strategically important posts in state structures. Today's NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA even reported that a headquarters has been set up to conduct a referendum which will favor the president. Practically the whole of Boris Yeltsin's political guard is in this headquarters, preparing the ground for ratification in Russia of a presidential republic. Against the background of all these preparations, the meeting between the president and the chairman of the Constitutional Court looks like a far-reaching maneuver on the part of the executive authority. Yeltsin is evidently trying well in advance to enlist the support of Valeriy Zorkin, upon whose position the outcome of the struggle between the parliament and president greatly depends.

Further on Chernomyrdin's 5 Jan Policy Speech

PM1101171193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 9 Jan 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Continuation of Reforms—That's the Bottom Line"]

[Text] The results of the first year of economic reform in Russia "provide no grounds for euphoria." Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, stated this 5 January when he made his programmatic speech at a meeting at Moscow City Hall with leaders of Moscow enterprises and organizations representing all forms of ownership.

In a 30-minute report he stressed that "the crisis in the economy remains dangerously acute." Banking on the liberalization of prices and foreign economic activity, the toughening of financial and monetary-credit policy, the introduction of a single ruble exchange rate, and extensive privatization, he continued, has made it possible to free the economy from its administrative-edict fetters. However, Viktor Chernomyrdin stressed, bargaining on the idea that "the liberalization of prices and the tough financial restrictions would make it possible to create a competitive economic environment and change the motivation behind the behavior of state enterprises" was not justified.

"Improvisation in economic policy must be replaced by cold calculation, the ability to organize, and the phased and consistent easing of the burden of problems which have to be resolved urgently or which should already have been resolved."

Expounding his action program, Chernomyrdin stated: "I am in favor of the reform strategy elaborated by the government." "The Russian president and the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies have put great trust in me by instructing me to work in the post of head of government at a difficult time, the watershed of reforms. I fully perceive the degree of this responsibility and I will exert every effort to implement the president's policy and the policy of the Congress," he said.

Viktor Chernomyrdin believes that the government's main task at the current stage is "to slow down and then stop the fall in production."

In this connection he announced that a federal program for the development of the priority sectors of the economy for the next two years has already been elaborated and will be examined by the government in the near future.

Viktor Chernomyrdin also stated that he intends to rectify mistakes, strengthen the state's role as the owner of the bulk of the industrial potential, and protect state property against illegal sales. "It is only by having an efficient state sector that we will be able to pull up all other sectors of our economy."

The head of government called the establishment of control over inflation and work to strengthen tax discipline as the most important tasks in the government's anticrisis policy.

Deeming privatization to be the key area of reform at its present phase, Chernomyrdin said that he would continue working in this area.

Viktor Chernomyrdin considers the most important task in social policy as "preventing people being rendered destitute, preventing a critical reduction in the people's living standard."

Speaking of government policy in the sphere of labor remuneration, Chernomyrdin stated that he is opposed to wage leveling. "The government will prevent the freezing of wages," "but at the same time wages must be earned; they must be linked to the end results of labor."

"In the current situation we consider it unrealistic and irresponsible to even raise the issue of freezing prices," the premier continued. "Any steps in that direction would only have one utterly obvious consequence—we would slide down toward the old system of economic management with the help of shouts and orders, a system that has exhausted its historical life many times over." At the same time, Chernomyrdin did not rule out the possibility of measures of "civilized influence on the mechanisms of price formation adopted in any developed market economy."

In this connection the head of the Russian Cabinet believes that during the surmounting of the crisis it would be possible "to envisage maintaining socially acceptable prices for a number of food goods and medicines by granting targeted subsidies to producers."

The prime minister recalled that, at the Seventh Congress, the president set the task of gradually restoring the population's savings lost as a result of liberalization and the subsequent price hike. "The state really cannot repudiate its internal debt, thereby inflicting such significant losses on the citizens. Restoring savings on specific conditions is also a question of trust, a question of providing resources for private investments in the future. Therefore, although the measures in this area are connected with the danger of intensifying inflation, together with the Central Bank we will start to elaborate them immediately," he reported.

Among the government's top-priority tasks Viktor Chernomyrdin also singled out the problem of food provision and raising the efficiency of the agro-industrial complex.

Moving onto the question of developing private farming and the sale of land, the prime minister stressed that he is in favor of "equal rights for all forms of ownership"—there is no need to "be afraid of giving land to the private farmer." But it must be given to those "who know and understand this land, who know how to treat it, who have at least the rudiments of agricultural knowledge at their disposal."

Concluding his 30-minute-plus speech, Viktor Chernomyrdin stressed that "repudiation of the reform strategy, regardless of the guise under which this is done, would be a repudiation of the very prospect of the rebirth of the fatherland and of meeting the deep national interests of our Russia." He said that today the government needs "businesslike people" who will not "stand about dithering."

Journalists Interview Nationalities Chairman Abdulatipov

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[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1857 GMT on 11 January broadcasts the one-hour recorded "Without Retouching" program featuring an interview with Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian parliament's Soviet of Nationalities, by moderators Tatyana Krasnova and Sergey Torchinskiy and a panel of journalists representing MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, PRAVDA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, MOSKOVSKIY NOVOSTI, the BBC Russian Service, ZHURNALIST, IZVESTIYA, and TRUD.

The program begins with a brief introductory statement followed by a discussion of Abdulatipov's attitude toward Sergey Shakhray, which Abdulatipov says he has "always tried to keep as fair as possible." He says he welcomed Shakhray's appointment as the chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Nationalities Policy. Abdulatipov says: "Shakhray is a capable and educated person and will be able to do some useful work in his new position."

The PRAVDA correspondent asks Abdulatipov if he thought that Moscow's policy in the Caucasus was, on the whole, a stabilizing factor and why this policy was failing so far. Abdulatipov replies: "You see, when we talk about ethnic problems generally, and the Caucasus in particular, 90 percent of what we call ethnic problems have nothing whatsoever to do with ethnic problems. A crisis of the whole system is in evidence in the Caucasus, a crisis of power, of economy, culture, and morality. The same things are happening in Russia. It is simply that, in the Caucasus, these problems manifest themselves in the form of ethnic conflicts because this factor is the most sensitive and noticeable one, all the more because so many different peoples are concentrated there. In addition, their conflicting interests are all concentrated there. Their competition is increasing at the present stage."

Abdulatipov adds: "I think that Moscow's actions have not always been appropriate to the situation." He says that he learned about the Russian policy in Chechnya from the press, instead of being consulted in advance. He continues: "An ethnic policy divorced from the economy and other measures being taken by the state is simply nonexistent. Therefore, when we speak today of a normalization of interethnic relations, such normalization is impossible unless power structures begin to work, unless there is a definite economic policy, unless there is some consistency in the cultural policy."

Replying to a question from the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Abdulatipov says he regretted the recent resignation of Ruslan Aushev from his post in the provisional administration for North Ossetia-Ingushetia. He says: "Ruslan Aushev knows very well, and so do all experts, that in order to make the state of emergency work in that region, at least 10,000 more troops will be required. Otherwise, we are unable to get hostages returned and to reinstate refugees to their homes. We are really not strong enough to ensure people's safety in the region".

A MOSKOVSKIY NOVOSTI reporter asks about the disintegration of the Russian Federation. Abdulatipov says that it was not collapsing because Tatarstan or Chechnya refused to sign the Federation treaty, but for a different reason. He explains: "The Federation is collapsing because laws are not being observed, because there is a power crisis, and because economic reforms are not conclusive." He adds: "It is a crisis of power we are speaking about, and it manifests itself in the republics in this way—through their attempts to leave the Federation. Tell me: Is there a power in Moscow today that can fully persuade these peoples and regions and unite them around Russia?"

A BBC Russian Service correspondent asks Abdulatipov what he thinks of the growing confrontation between the legislative and executive powers in Russia. Abdulatipov replies that this confrontation weakens the power of state as a whole and says that he has expressed this view both to Yeltsin and Khasbulatov more than once.

The TRUD correspondent asks about what role the so-called national idea played in former autonomous republics declaring their independence. Abdulatipov says: "I think the national dimension accounts for no more than 5 percent or 7 percent at the most. I think it would be too much to say 10 percent of the whole thing. It began here when the sovereignty of Russia was proclaimed and people stood up and applauded."

Abdulatipov adds: "If there were ambitions on the part of individual politicians in Russia to assert themselves, then the same sort of ambitions spread all over the place, down to the village of Repyakhovka in Rostov Oblast—which also declared that it would not obey any laws if they contradicted the interests of the village."

Abdulatipov says: "The most important thing is that a redistribution of power is taking place throughout the system, from top to bottom. National elites began to take part in this redistribution of power. The redistribution of power, in this case, means access to valuable assets and so on. So a violent struggle began. At the same time, the national elites are the same people who ruled there yesterday, and the day before yesterday, and before the revolution. Those are the various clans who have been there since time immemorial."

"This struggle for power is a purely political struggle, but national movements get involved in it, and bring this 'national idea' into it," Abdulatipov says, and "I fully agree with you that the national idea is a slogan used in this struggle and in the demonstrations. Behind it, however, there are simply self-seeking interests."

Krasnova reads out a brief summary of Abdulatipov's career as an academic and politician, adding some details of his personal interests and hobbies. The MOSKOVSKIY NOVOSTI correspondent asks if the allegation was true that the Supreme Soviet wrote and amended laws on its own and generally did with them what it liked. Abdulatipov says that this statement was unfair to the parliament: it was the government's responsibility to prepare laws, and it was to blame for not fulfilling its duties.

Abdulatipov rejects the possibility suggested by the IZVESTIYA correspondent that events in Ingushetia could have developed differently if he and Khasbulatov had not been Caucasians themselves.

The BBC correspondent asks Abdulatipov whether it was more interesting to work in the CPSU Central Committee or in the present parliament. Abdulatipov says that he came to work at the CPSU Central Committee on 20 June 1988—almost at the end of perestroyka. He adds: "During a year and a half in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee—in the department for ethnic relations—I gained as much as when I was writing my doctoral dissertation. Though it is very unfashionable to speak this way, one learned to work there, to write documents, and to analyze. That was the advantage of it. I think that the level of the experts today at the Supreme Soviet, and the people with whom

we are working, is undoubtedly lower on many accounts than the level of those cadres who were assembled in this department—I mean the department for ethnic relations. The majority of them were specialists. I think that it is more interesting to work at the Supreme Soviet because we are freer, and many more things depend on us. We have more access to the outside world in general. So, it is really more interesting to work at the Supreme Soviet."

The TRUD correspondent asks whether an ethnic problem of Russians in Russia exists and how acute it is. Abdulatipov mentions that he spoke about this issue in his speech at the Congress, when he said that "the well-being and the situation of all other peoples within both Russia and throughout the entire former union will depend on the well-being of Russians. This should be forgotten on no account."

Abdulatipov adds that today there are about 150 peoples in Russia, though statistics give only 128 peoples. "Russians account for 85 percent of them. There are four other peoples. They account for a little bit more than 1 percent, and the remaining peoples account for less than 1 percent. That is why economic, political, and defense issues and the remaining problems pertaining to Russian statehood are, first and foremost, dependent upon the Russian people. I believe that it is the greatest tragedy that the Russian nation—the largest European nation—has in fact been turned into an ethnic minority. I mean the territory of the former union. Although we are Russians, we did not think it through beforehand."

The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent asks whether any ethnic problems remained in the Russian Army since it replaced the Soviet Army. Abdulatipov says: "They have not just remained but, like society, they have exacerbated. Young people are coming into the Army. They are full of ethnic ideas, but they do not think it through; they do not have an opportunity to think it through."

Abdulatipov says that no work is carried out in the Army with respect to this issue and that he receives a great deal of complaints that, not just soldiers, but also commanders are being guided by stereotypes. He expresses a wish for greater cooperation between the Armed Forces and the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper in order to tackle these problems.

Krasnova asks Abdulatipov whether the punishment for offending one's national dignity fits the crime in today's society. Abdulatipov says that many officials should be called to account. "In fact, all the presidents, maybe with the exception of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, came to power through speculation on the idea of nationality. If there is speculation on the national idea, then there is, in fact, an offense to other people's national dignity."

Torchinskiy asks about the private ownership of land. Abdulatipov says that, proceeding from conditions in Dagestan—a severe shortage of land in mountainous areas—private ownership of land is impossible there. He also stresses the need for decentralization of power without weakening state power. The PRAVDA correspondent asks Abdulatipov's opinion regarding what issue will be the most difficult at the forthcoming Supreme Soviet. Abdulatipov thinks that ethnic issues will be difficult. He also thinks that ratification of the treaty will proceed with difficulty.

Abdulatipov says: "We spoke today at the Presidium and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet said that ultimately we should be careful and thorough in implementing this decision so that there will be no accusations from the left and the right that we are disarming, leaving ourselves open, and so forth. Also, there are specific experts' assessments, and a decision should be made from them."

The IZVESTIYA correspondent asks about the development of the constitutional crisis that was averted during the Congress when discussing the new constitution. Abdulatipov says he believes that the depth and the consequences of this crisis have not been yet realized.

Gaydar Comments on Past Year, Economic Outlook

PM1101140193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 93 pp 2, 3

[Interview with Yegor Gaydar by S. Razin; place and date not given: "Yegor Gaydar: Dawn Must Come in the Year of the Cockerel"]

[Text] [Razin] Yegor Timurovich, at the Seventh Congress you were accused of having reduced the people to total impoverishment. Many of our fellow citizens think precisely the same thing....

[Gaydar] Violence had been done to our economy for so long that when we inherited it it was almost lifeless. There was only one chance of salvation—for everybody to come together to assemble the launch capital for reform. This was why prices were released.

I think the population is beginning to understand why all these privations are necessary. When the market comes into operation, people will regain what was taken away from them for over 70 years, including ownership and worthy living standards. In my view, we have not been through the very difficult year of reforms for nothing.

[Razin] However, not all your forecasts have been borne out. In particular, the slump in production has been deeper than you envisaged—20 percent, not 11 percent.

[Gaydar] When tectonic shifts are under way in a country, mistakes in calculation are inevitable. We thought that the country had already, as it were, paid in advance for the reform back in 1989-1991. But you cannot fool life. No matter how much time you waste in empty talk about the market, all the same you will have to pay the full price for it.

Overall our understanding of the economy has been borne out. The "machine" is behaving more or less as

expected. But there are nuances. For instance, when you step on the gas it immediately accelerates from 30 kph to 100, not to 50, as expected. The direction is still the same, but the speed and scale are different. This is what we should have realized and sensed. Over the year we gained a more accurate sense of how the economy reacts to management commands.

[Razin] In that case you presumably deliberately relaxed financial policy and triggered the fall wave of inflation. In the summer almost all commentators were accusing you of betraying monetarist ideals....

[Gaydar] This was brilliant! The people who were loudest of all in accusing me of betrayal were those who had gone overboard in reviling us for insanely worshiping monetary theory during the first months.

However, broadly speaking, they are right. Although the relaxation of monetary policy from May through August was clearly inevitable—because of the political disposition of forces—we backtracked more than necessary. And we made a real blunder.

[Razin] Excuse me, but I have just remembered G. Yavlinskiy's recent TV appearance on "Itogi," on which he accused you of immorality. On the air he used rather harsh words to the effect that Gaydar wavered and surrendered his minister for the fuel and energy complex, V. Lopukhin. As a result V. Chernomyrdin came along and "gobbled up" Gaydar himself.

[Gaydar] As is well known, at the Congress the question of who was to be premier remained open until the final day. Out of the possible candidates I feel the greatest respect for Viktor Stepanovich....

I would remark in passing that in politics there is the principle of keeping your head down. For instance, President Gorbachev mishandled the "500 Days" program, so he kept his head down. You could spend ages explaining why this was highly moral. But as a result in 18 months the Silayev government did nothing to prepare properly for the reforms.

[Razin] According to my observations, citizens' sympathies are with Gaydar. But clearly Yavlinskiy too is right in some respects?

[Gaydar] By spring of last year the situation in Lopukhin's sector was very tricky. The pressure on the minister was such that he could no longer really manage the sector. For the last 6-8 weeks he was constantly coming to me to settle conflicts in his sector. Resistance to the strategy espoused by Lopukhin was colossal. But nevertheless he did manage to do something. However, it proved impossible to save him.

The government too was under pressure from all sides. At one moment there were demands that five ministers be sacrificed, at the next it was four, at the next six—the whole time! But in the whole year there was just one case where I was unable to defend a minister whom I had installed and whom I supported. The president made the decision without consulting me.

I could certainly have taken advantage of this incident to resign. Some observers would probably have regarded this move as politically correct and highly moral. But, in my view, to keep my head down then would have been immoral. Privatization was only just beginning and in reality we had still not succeeded in doing anything. Could the fate of the reform have been put at risk in this way?

[Razin] Everything indicates that the president wrecked financial stabilization. By making the personal decision to dismiss Lopukhin and replace him with the oil and gas "big shot" Chernomyrdin, Yeltsin thereby canceled the release of prices of energy sources, which clearly prolongs the agony in industry and cranks up inflation. The enormous sector is still being fed by the exchequer. The new premier began by taking out a 200 billion ruble [R] credit for the fuel and energy complex.

[Gaydar] I am not going to reveal the inner workings of the government in our relations with the president. But I want to note that it is he who bears responsibility for sociopolitical stability in the country. We talked several times with Boris Nikolayevich, getting down to the real nitty-gritty—what could happen, what could not. There were times when he said to me: "I get the feeling that this is the limit. It would be dangerous to go further. Trust my feeling." And I heeded his opinion. The president was the only guarantor of the activity of our government and of our course.

[Razin] It has sometimes appeared that the strongest influence on Yeltsin is exerted not by the reformers but by some other entourage....

[Gaydar] Naturally, any decisionmaker is surrounded by waves of lobbying. There is no hiding from them. They come through various channels: starting with childhood friends and ending with those same oil lobbyists who are capable of paralyzing the sector.

[Razin] How much time did you give yourself in the government?

[Gaydar] At first we thought: Let's just make it to the spring. Then I announced in the press my intentions of staying on for a year. Colleagues cursed me for my frankness—how can we portray ourselves as timeservers!

The ruble seemed so weak that the monetary economy might simply have not begun operating. The risk was enormous. Moreover, after the August putsch, strictly speaking, the state machine did not exist. I read somewhere that Gaydar was head of a government without money and without an army. We had neither real power, nor levers for management. But gradually these levers were acquired, and by the following fall I felt that the machine had become controllable.

[Razin] When did this breakthrough occur?

[Gaydar] Probably in the summer, despite everything. When the cash crisis was overcome, I lost the oppressive, agonizing feeling that a social explosion was about to happen....

[Razin] Allow me to recount one version of events. Minister Lopukhin's conflict with his sector clearly demonstrated that the industrial "generals" had recovered from "shock therapy" by as early as the spring. Even the president did not risk launching a frontal attack on them. Was this not the reason why Gaydar too displayed political flexibility and gambled on the directors, adjusting the course of reforms to suit their interests?

[Gaydar] The directors naturally came to believe in reform when they saw their place in privatization. I was very surprised at how their position regarding the government changed strikingly in the summer. By then, incidentally, money had again begun to operate and was squeezing barter out everywhere, although financial policy had been slightly relaxed. But the general trend could be clearly seen.

So the directors saw a different future for themselves. They were no longer thinking how good things were three years ago, but how they could organize a normal, worthy life and good work for their enterprises.

These changes were particularly striking during trips around the country. You cannot see all industrialists as moaners and whiners always ready to get their hands on the exchequer. At plants themselves a great deal is changing for the better and directors—young, energetic people—are everywhere in the vanguard. It is here that you can see how firm a grip the reform has taken on real life.

[Razin] Yegor Timurovich! You once said something to the effect that you resigned because you had engaged too little in politics. But that is by no means so! In my view, the government will be making a brilliant move by giving the Shtokmanovskiy, Udokan, and other major projects not to Western firms but to our defense industry. So the economy is sheer politics....

[Gaydar] History will decide which of our actions have been correct and which have not been all that correct. But it is perfectly clear that our military-industrial complex is also receptive to the reforms. And those economists who claim the reverse are adopting incorrect yardsticks, in my view—conversion in Pentagon firms, for instance. Naturally, it is extremely difficult to jump from one market—arms—to another—consumer goods—in an established developed economy. There is competition everywhere: for capital, for manpower, for advantageous output sales.

Our conversion is also a painful process, of course. But the only thing we lack is money, all the other resources are there in plenty, including first-class specialists.

Incidentally, there was a similar situation in postwar Germany. The German economy had been totally destroyed, but in just seven years it rose from the ashes and reached fantastic heights, becoming highly dynamic and almost ideal. Although it no longer produced either guns or tanks—anything that had been produced under Hitler. In that short time it was possible to build a totally new economy. Why? Because they had the most important thing: free resources—highly skilled cadres who adapted swiftly to the new problems.

Is Russia poorer in terms of the intellectual capital amassed over the decades in the military-industrial complex? In my view, this as yet free capital is our main asset and a powerful source for economic growth.

[Razin] Don't you think that, having become the ally of the huge directors' lobby, you were too quick to resign? I think that during the 40 minutes at the Congress when the question of the premier was being decided the president could well have "put on extra pressure." But you actually hesitated over whether to put yourself forward as a candidate for the nonbinding popularity vote....

[Gaydar] I did not think it possible to make the president my hostage. The aggressiveness of the Congress of People's Deputies was largely based on the fact that the reforms have not yet brought relief, and so do not have a broad social base. Incidentally, many directors are themselves sitting on a powder keg since they have yet to face the test of mass unemployment. The most important thing now is to preserve social stability and to preserve the chance of continuing the reform.

I feel great respect for Viktor Stepanovich. We worked in the same government for six months, and I regard him as an intelligent, decent man and an excellent professional. Having said that, at different periods of his life he has had to play different social roles in harmony with the spirit of the time. But look how rapidly and skillfully he has assimilated the new rules of the game! From being a Union minister he became president of the "Gazprom" concern. Then came the breakthrough into the world market and the share flotation.

Of course, as vice premier for the fuel and energy complex Chernomyrdin tried to secure financial benefits for his sector by extracting more money from the exchequer. But that was his job! But today that same man is responsible not for ensuring that "Gazprom" is cozy but for the situation in the country. Is the consumer market going to be wrecked and is a flight from the ruble and a new round of inflation going to start? That is a headache for any premier. I hope that Viktor Stepanovich will prove just as flexible and will take on board what are for him new priorities in the economy.

[Razin] Nevertheless, Chernomyrdin has already taken R200 billion for the oil and gas complex....

[Gaydar] Yes. But there had long been talk of this credit—the question was decided back during my tenure. However, I strongly urged my successor not to spend this

money all at once but to spread the subsidies out in terms of time in order to avoid triggering another explosion of inflation, which is abating.

[Razin] Nevertheless, you have not dispelled my doubts about the new premier. If Chernomyrdin decides to replicate his experience with "Gazprom" and turn the whole of industry into a dozen or two transnational corporations, we will see what real monopolism is....

[Gaydar] But "Gazprom" too is good in a way. It is a normal market state monopoly that has squeezed out many Western competitors. In the domestic market the concern bases its supplies on financial flows. This is a perfectly acceptable model for sectors like the gas and oil industry and the power industry. I do not regard myself as an ideological fighter against such monopolies.

However, it would be very dangerous to extend this excellent "Gazprom" experience indiscriminately to the whole of the rest of industry. The reason why market monopolies thrive in the West is that they operate in an market environment where there are plenty of small and medium-sized competitors in allied sectors. I don't think that Chernomyrdin will start to fanatically drive the whole country into transnational corporations—he would immediately lose the support of the majority of directors.

[Razin] In that case it can be concluded that the directions in which Gaydar and Chernomyrdin are heading are converging. Both premiers—the former premier and the new premier—have gambled on the industrialists. Is this not the reason why Chernomyrdin has not only retained but even, in the opinion of some people, strengthened Gaydar's cabinet?

[Gaydar] I think the present government will be able to rely very effectively on the industrialists. But the question of its stability will ultimately be determined by the policy it pursues.

[Razin] But you yourself once said that in the new cabinet there is a kind of clockwork mechanism that has already begun ticking....

[Gaydar] I was referring to the conflict originally embodied in the economic tasks that must be resolved over the next few months. This is not a personal conflict but a deeper one. On the one hand there is a need to keep tight control of financial policy, otherwise hyperinflation will make the situation uncontrollable. And on the other hand popular gestures and additional payments from the treasury to alleviate social problems and the slump in production are inevitable. Any government will tear itself in half here...

[Razin] Experts claim by Boris Fedorov, the new vice premier for reform and finance, is Gaydar all over again, but less pliant, tougher, and, if you like, more aggressive. He may well keep the laurels of the number one reformer...

[Gaydar] I am very pleased with the appointment of Boris Fedorov. Incidentally, he left a very big salary—over $100,000—to join the government.

[Razin] What is your economic forecast?

[Gaydar] In January I expect no trouble with either the currency exchange rate or inflation. The first month or two of the new year will be fairly quiet, since from September-December we managed to sustain a rather tough financial policy. After that everything will depend on what actions the government takes.

[Razin] What if you look over the horizon and make a forecast for the long term?

[Gaydar] Two scenarios are possible. One is apocalyptic, and we will have to consider the real threat of it for 12-18 months at any rate. The picture is this: a sharp increase in preferential credits, growth in prices, a flight from money, hyperinflation, an attempt to freeze prices, and the devastation of the stores. But this scenario is by no means mandatory. Its likelihood is under 50 percent.

It's like a mountain path: If you're not too drunk, you walk in a straight line and won't fall off. In that case a pleasanter scenario is almost certainly feasible. Although the annual slump in production will be 5-7 percent compared with 1992 and unemployment will reach 3-4 million, market structural shifts in industry will begin, and growth and a more marked revival than in the economy as a whole are actually possible in the military-industrial complex. Privatization will proceed in breadth and depth, but parliament's resistance will intensify. Deputies are already trying to adopt amendments that would put a stop to large-scale privatization and voucher auctions. After which you could boldly burn your vouchers in a stove and the structure of ownership would be incompatible with a market economy...

[Razin] Yegor Timurovich, what would you like to wish our readers?

[Gaydar] A new year that is a year of reform. They say the dawn must come during the year of the cockerel.

Filatov Views Appointment to Yeltsin's Staff

PM1101155993 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jan 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "I Am a Democratic Figure...."]

[Text] Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian parliament, has been appointed leader of the Russian Federation president's administration.

"You can see in the president's actions a clear practical attempt to strengthen his entourage with democratic figures, among whom I count myself"—this is what S. Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, who is on vacation in Kislovodsk, said in connection with his new appointment in an interview

Thursday with the Stavropol state television and radio company which was also passed to ITAR-TASS.

PRAVDA Ponders Filatov's New Appointment

PM1101163193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Shinkin report: "His 'Own Man' in Reception. Apparatus Games in Kremlin Continue"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin does like to alternate festivals with all sorts of poignant situations. Christmas has been no exception—the president has once again sanctioned a reshuffle in his entourage.

Yuriy Petrov, who held the post of leader of the president's administration from August 1991, has been removed from the Kremlin apparatus. Judging by the fact that he has been entrusted with heading a state commission to study the circumstances of the disaster concerning the South Korean Boeing shot down in the Sakhalin region in 1983, Petrov has dropped out of Yeltsin's entourage altogether. And yet only recently Boris Nikolayevich was solidly behind him.

It has been reported that Yuriy Petrov's post will be taken by Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

What lies behind this change of figures? In an interview for the Stavropol State Television and Radio Company Filatov himself, who was vacationing in Kislovodsk, made this assessment of what has happened: "The president's actions clearly reveal a practical desire to strengthen his entourage with democratic figures, among whom I number myself."

Such a brush stroke in his self-portrait really is perfectly deserved. Sergey Filatov has proved his democratic thinking in practice. Let us recall, for example, the passage of the president's edict on privatization through the Supreme Soviet. On receiving it, as a ROSINFORMBYURO investigation showed, Filatov sent the document to the Committee for Questions of Economic Reform and Ownership with a very poignant request. It was virtually a question of hiding the document from outside eyes until the edict came into force. This was done. In this way a top leader of the Russian parliament implemented a presidential decision, bypassing a discussion of the edict in the Supreme Soviet Presidium and in its committees.

It was none other than Sergey Filatov, following Boris Yeltsin's appeal to the people at the Congress of People's Deputies and his call to the assembled people to follow him into the Hall of Facets, who hastened to declare a recess so as to frustrate the work of the Congress. Subsequently he participated repeatedly in "Democratic Russia" meetings at which the technique of wrecking and sabotaging the Congress was elaborated. So Boris Yeltsin has now been strengthened by his "own" man, as he likes to put it.

Filatov's departure from the Supreme Soviet was actually predicted long ago. This was attributed to the fact that he was said not to get on with the speaker of parliament. The latter in turn restricted his powers as first deputy. But the fact that this figure has emerged in the post of leader of the president's administration attests to far more.

In my view, a new and still more decisive stage of the struggle between the executive and the legislature is beginning in our society. It promises to be a tough skirmish, for the president and his entourage, as events of recent years persuade us, will not abhor even the most refined methods of asserting their omnipotence in Rus.

One of the leaders of the people's patriotic opposition—Gennadiy Zyuganov—said the following about this change of figures: "The confrontation between Yeltsin and his supporters and the legislature has become irreversible. He is drawing into his ranks all the supporters of Gaydar's reform aimed at destroying Russia, in order to wage a decisive battle against the entire opposition. But an objective analysis of the state of affairs in the Russian Federation convinces us that this monoparty and pseudodemocratic group will not succeed in keeping the ship afloat. Antinational dictatorship will not pass. Many people already understand the essence of Yeltsin's entourage. The people will seize this power."

Be that as it may, you increasingly wonder what price the Russians will have to pay for this struggle.

Commentary Views Bragin's Appointment as TV Chief

LD1101150293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Commentary by Andrey Krasnov]

[Text] Before you listen to the press review which we usually broadcast at this hour, here is a commentary on the new appointment at the Ostankino Televison and Radio Company. Andrey Krasnov is in the studio:

[Krasnov] Vyacheslav Bragin has been appointed the new chairman of the Ostankino Television and Radio Company. Before that he was chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Commission for the Media. Bragin has long been popular in journalistic circles. On the one hand he is well known as a supporter of the president, and on the other for favoring the minimal interference of the government in the affairs of the press.

In this connection Bragin has repeatedly clashed in recent times with Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, who has had an extremely negative assessment of the work of the parliamentary committee for the media. Matters reached the point where at the last Congress of People's Deputies Khasbulatov proposed that this committee be dissolved as a whole. The committee, however, remained, but then its chairman had to go. After the scandalous resignation of Yegor Yakovlev,

the appointment of Bragin will evidently mollify the radical supporters of Boris Yeltsin from Democratic Russia. At any rate, it is known that the new Ostankino chairman's political views is close to those of that organization.

However, it is hardly likely that Bragin will play an independent political role. Let me remind you that by a decree of the president the Ostankino Television and Radio Company has become part of the Federal Information Center, which is headed by Mikhail Poltoranin. Evidently it is he who will have the deciding word in the information policy of the first channel.

Here's another consideration: Bragin's departure from the Supreme Soviet will clearly weaken the president's position there. Right after Sergey Filatov, Bragin has become the second important political figure to have left the parliament in recent days. It seems that the Khasbulatov's influence in the Russian Supreme Soviet is becoming absolute.

New Deputy Economic Relations Minister Appointed

OW1101213693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Russian Government Viktor Chernomyrdin has appointed Oleg Davydov first deputy minister for external economic relations. Up to 1991, Mr Davydov was USSR deputy minister for economic relations.

Until recently, Oleg Davydov, 52, was working in the "GAZPROP" concern which at one time was headed by the incumbent prime minister.

Formally, Mr Davydov replaced Sergey Glaziev in that office after the latter was appointed new head of the Russian Ministry for External Economic Relations.

Agriculture Reform Package To Be Submitted to Parliament

OW1101231893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1941 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Committee on Agriculture of the Russian parliament will discuss a draft reform package for the agro-industrial complex for 1992-1995.

One of the authors of the draft, vice-president's aide Nikolay Radugin has told IF [INTERFAX] that "this is the latest, eighth version of the program, already approved by several instances, including the Russian Ministry of Agriculture". Radugin says there are reasons to expect that on Tuesday the draft will be given a go ahead and submitted to parliament for approval.

"We have recognized all types of ownership", the vice-president's aide responsible for agriculture said. "The sole thing that counts is whether they will help increase farm produce".

At the same time he believes that recognition alone is not enough. Inadequate pricing, taxation and credit policies have made livestock farming in Russia unprofitable for any proprietor. Radugin said that it is necessary to maintain profitability for the producers of goods at a level no lower than 30-40 percent with preferential taxation, credits and subsidies. "Only this measure will bring about enlarged reproduction", he said. Radugin said the implementation of the reform program would help stop the collapse of agriculture.

Document To Implement Deputies Congress' Decisions

OW1101223793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1743 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko has supervised the preparation of a draft governmental order on measures to implement the decrees passed at the 7th Congress of Russian People's Deputies on the progress of economic reform.

INTERFAX has been informed by Shumeyko's staff that the document falls into five sections. The first provides for measures to put into practise legislatively secured social guarantees. This mainly involves the development of criteria for determining the minimum labour wage and its permanent indexation. There are also plans to increase benefit and compensatory payments to poorer citizens. The list of measures also includes:

- concessionary travel allowances for certain categories of citizen to come out of the federal budget;

- federal minimum medical service to be set up;

- free use of libraries, museums, clubs, and services at health resorts and other places of rest;

- subsidies and loans for unemployed citizens for engaging in entrepreneurial activity;

Appropriate presidential decrees and governmental orders must be prepared for each of the above measures.

The preparation in February of a special programme on the president's instruction for the indexation of personal savings in savings banks will be, as expected, one of the most radical of the government's social measures.

The second section of the document prepared by Shumeyko's team concerns the intensification of agrarian reform and the development of agricultural production.

This includes: stabilising food production levels during 1993; guaranteeing the economic interests of agricultural goods producers; and boosting home and foreign investments in the agricultural industry complex, and compensating the debts for 1992 which were incurred as a result of inflation.

The third section concerns the formation and implementation of state industrial policy, including: backing for the most essential industries and enterprises; the indexation of enterprises' capital; favourable taxation on some profits for the development of consumer goods manufacturing; state price regulation for separate categories of goods; and protectionist measures for Russian enterprises on the home market.

The fourth section relates to improving finance and credit policy: de-monopolisation of the financial and credit sphere with the stepping up of anti-monopolist measures during the period of economic stabilisation; stepping up control on the utilization of favourable credit; boosting the crediting of investment activity; division of the financial rights of subjects of the federation; and the state regulation of manufacturing and the sale of alcoholic beverages and tobacco products.

The fifth and final section contains measures to improve economic relations with neighbouring countries. Proposals for halting the use of foreign hard currency on Russian territory (contained in a resolution passed at the 7th Congress of Russian People's Deputies) will also be discussed.

Supreme Soviet

Draft Constitution's Main Provisions Detailed

OW1201121593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1201 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Federation is a sovereign, law-based, democratic, federative, social and secular state with a republican form of government. This was how one of the main provisions of the new Constitution of the Russian Federation read. The draft main provisions were published on Tuesday [12 January] at a working plenary session of the Constitutional Commission. The main provisions are being proposed for a nationwide referendum on April 11.

The most striking feature of the draft is "the election of the Supreme Council, president and vice-president of the Russian Federation, legislative assemblies and high ranking officials of subjects of the Russian Federation, and local governmental representative bodies should be free, general, fair, straightforward, and by secret ballot. No section of society and no association or separate entity may usurp state power." The draft also states "the unified state power system of the Russian Federation is based on the principle of the division of power into legislative, executive and judicial. The Supreme Council of the Russian Federation is the only representative and legislative body in the Russian Federation which is of a permanent nature and consists of two chambers. The president of the Russian Federation is the head of state. He represents the Russian Federation in both internal and external relations and is head of executive power in the Russian Federation. Judicial power belongs to the courts. Judges and jurymen are independent." Another main provision of the draft new Constitution concerns the state territorial organisation of the Russian Federation which is "based on the principles of federalism and guarantees state unity, the de-centralisation of state power, and the right of peoples of the Russian Federation to self-determination."

Resolution on Referendum for New Constitution Submitted

OW1101232493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1941 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Presidium of the Russian Parliament has decided to present for discussion a draft resolution "On Measures to Hold the All-Russia Referendum on April 11 1993."

The constitutional commission and the institute of comparative legislation at the Supreme Soviet is going to be asked to present to the Presidium of parliament a draft of the basic principles of a new constitution meant for the referendum. Those provisions are to be coordinated by the president and the Constitutional court.

If parliament fails to come to terms with the president and the Constitutional court on certain clauses of the draft, the Supreme Soviet is going to prepare alternative wordings of the controversial provisions.

Law on Constitutional Amendments Published

PM1101202193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jan 93 First Edition p 4

[Russian Federation Law "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Federation—Russia"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] 27. In Part One of Article 109: [passage omitted]

Paragraph 19 shall read as follows:

"19) repeals edicts and decrees of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Presidium, directives of the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and edicts and directives of the Russian Federation president on the basis of the findings of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court; makes representations to the Russian Federation president on repealing decisions of the Russian Federation Government; and is entitled to suspend edicts and directives of the Russian

Federation president pending a ruling from the Russian Federation Constitutional Court on their constitutionality in the event of an appeal from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to the Russian Federation Constitutional Court;" [passage omitted]

28. In Article 110:

Add to Part One after the words "president of the Russian Federation" the words "Russian Federation Council of Ministers"; replace the words "and autonomous okrugs" with the words "autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg";

in Part Two replace the words "in the shape of their republic organs" with the words "operating throughout Russian Federation territory." [passage omitted]

Section II. The following procedure for implementing this law will be laid down:

54. This law will come into force from the moment of its publication.

(Footnote) (Paragraph 19 of Article 109 regarding the suspension of edicts and directives of the Russian Federation president by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet; Article 110 of the Russian Federation Constitution regarding the granting of the right of legislative initiative to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers; and Article 121.6 of the Russian Federation Constitution regarding the immediate termination of the Russian Federation president's powers will not come into force until a referendum is held on the main provisions of the draft new Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Federation (Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies decree of 12 December 1992 "On Stabilizing the Russian Federation's Constitutional System".) [passage omitted]

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin
[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 9 December 1992
No. 4061-1

Parliament Presidium Rejects Referendum Call on Land

LD1101171693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1645 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—The Russian parliament presidium has opposed the idea of holding a nationwide referendum on land in Russia.

The referendum has been urged by initiative groups in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Tomsk to answer the question "Do you agree that the Russian Constitution should record the right to private land ownership, that is unconditional right of every citizen of the Russian Federation to own and use land."

The presidium also decided to submit to the parliament a draft resolution on the referendum on land after it is discussed in parliamentary committees and commissions.

Khasbulatov Advocates More Active Role in Middle East

OW1101195993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1941 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The split into reformers and counter-reformers and the confrontation of various branches of power in Russia have damaged the prestige of Russian statehood and produced a foreign policy situation in which Russia is seen as an unreliable partner," the Speaker of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov said on Monday at this year's first session of Parliament's Presidium. He reviewed the results of his trip of January 2-10, which took him to Jordan, Israel and Egypt.

Khasbulatov said the foreign policy of the former Soviet Union had always been very balanced. He sees the Middle East as a "very promising region for the future of this country" and is certain that "all opportunities for developing our relations must be used."

Khasbulatov said that his meetings with the leaders of those countries, as well as the heads of parliaments, factions and political parties had shown that "everybody is interested" in resolving the Middle East problems. He said that was particularly true of Israeli MPs. He said that "even Russia's opponents are unhappy about the weakening of its role in the Middle East settlement."

Reviews Near East Visit

LD1101222993 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Vladimir Flyarkovskiy] In opening today's session of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, Ruslan Khasbulatov talked about the visit by a Russian parliamentary delegation to Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, which has just ended.

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] A very great impression was made on all of us by these visits, the numerous conversations, and the speeches. The possibilities for business cooperation in these three countries seems very promising to us. I would say this is true especially in Egypt. Egypt is a rapidly developing country. The rate of growth there in recent years has exceeded by 20 percent the growth rate in Japan at a certain period. [end recording]

[Flyarkovskiy] The rest of the Presidium's work was devoted to Russian problems. In the very near future, the Supreme Soviet will be addressing the question of how

best to organize the referendum set for 11 April. The Supreme Soviet will also decide whether or not to put to a referendum the question of private ownership of land. This proposal has been made, as we have already reported, by Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Tomsk.

Also under discussion today was the bill on the tax inspectorate. Although the work of law enforcement bodies was not examined separately during the session, Khasbulatov stressed more than once that the session would have to examine bills in the next few days on curtailing the rising crime rate. Without them, it will clearly be difficult to discuss rapid economic changes.

Supreme Soviet

Draft Constitution's Main Provisions Detailed

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The most striking feature of the draft is "the election of the Supreme Council, president and vice-president of the Russian Federation, legislative assemblies and high ranking officials of subjects of the Russian Federation, and local governmental representative bodies should be free, general, fair, straightforward, and by secret ballot. No section of society and no association or separate entity may usurp state power." The draft also states "the unified state power system of the Russian Federation is based on the principle of the division of power into legislative, executive and judicial. The Supreme Council of the Russian Federation is the only representative and legislative body in the Russian Federation which is of a permanent nature and consists of two chambers. The president of the Russian Federation is the head of state. He represents the Russian Federation in both internal and external relations and is head of executive power in the Russian Federation. Judicial power belongs to the courts. Judges and jurymen are independent." Another main provision of the draft new Constitution concerns the state territorial organisation of the Russian Federation which is "based on the principles of federalism and guarantees state unity, the de-centralisation of state power, and the right of peoples of the Russian Federation to self-determination."

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Regional Affairs

Moscow Mayor on City's Difficulties, Achievements

OW1101092593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0646 GMT 11 Jan 93

["Interview" from the "Problems and Opinions" feature; following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The transition to a free market economy has created difficulties for many Russian cities, Moscow among them. Therefore any positive achievements deserve special mention.

In an exclusive interview for INTERFAX the Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov has described changes for the better and the tasks facing the city authorities in the new conditions. "IF" [INTERFAX]: Let us begin with the traditionally pressing matter of food supplies. What does Moscow have plenty of and what does it lack? LUZHKOV: Each component is important and it is difficult to single out any of them. Moscow is generally well-supplied with vegetables. We have enough of them to last till the next harvest. There is sugar and we make a point of keeping its stores sufficient. The only problem is its price and the purchasing power of city people. There is also tobacco in Moscow.

We do have problems though, primarily with fat and vegetable oil. We are working on the problem every day from morning till night. Moscow gets them through Russian ministries and agencies. In the past we used much imported oil and butter. The situation was aggravated by matters related to the Congress of People's Deputies. At that time the Gaydar government was busy sorting out its relations with the legislative branch of power which did not leave it time to concentrate on the life-support systems of the country, Moscow in particular, and the situation in the city worsened. Still we have found a key to the problem and are working on it. There is an agreement on selling state reserves of salted butter. It cannot be used for baking, of course, but we are trying to sell part of it through retail trade to meet the needs of consumers.

Now to milk. Moscow region has reduced its livestock and the cut was quite big. Daily milk supplies dropped from 2,000 tons a day to 800 tons. We have asked the government to help us with dry milk to make up for at least some of the shortage. There are difficulties in resolving the problem. This is one of the prime concerns of the Moscow authorities. "IF": What is the state of the Moscow budget? LUZHKOV: Financially we are quite stable now, if one can describe a deficit-free budget as stable. Of course, we would want to have some reserves to guarantee steady financing in the first month or two of the new year. That would have been fine, but spending on construction, repairs and the commissioning of new life-support systems did not permit us to form sufficient reserves.

Recently I visited the new metro station Bibirevo. It is short of 2.6 bn [billion] rubles for builders' wages and for new metro trains. All this complicates the situation, even though we ended the year with a deficit-free budget. Moscow does not owe anyone anything. This is actually an impressive positive result of financing city programs. Many Russian cities ended the year with budget deficits, with debts. Moscow is free from debts. This is the result of the skilful work of our financial division. As for the other programs, we kept our promise and repaired 14 mn [million] square kilometers of roads. Today city roads are better and people have noticed that. This year we should repair 15 mn more and thus reach the average European standard. We intend to pay more attention to repairs in general. "IF": Housing is one of the burning problems in Moscow. What has been done to resolve it? LUZHKOV: Last year 3 mn square meters of floorspace were built. For the second year in succession the city reached the planned target. One third was city housing distributed free among unprivileged Muscovites who had been lining for better apartments in their districts for many years. The remaining two thirds were sold to subsidize the free housing, as we no longer get anything from the central government for housing construction. Thus by introducing the market component in housing we guaranteed the solution of social tasks. This year large-scale housing construction will continue.

The Moscow authorities have adopted an impressive social program. As many as three million Muscovites: Children, single parents, big families, senior citizens, the handicapped and students require social security. They will receive various benefits and grants totalling 17 to 20 bn roubles which is a heavy burden for the city budget. Still I am convinced that this approach is vitally necessary to support the categories of Muscovites who are facing additional difficulties at the time of transition to a free market economy.

"IF": What other issues the mayor and city authorities intend to focus on in 1993?

LUZHKOV: This year we are to carry out two key programs. Firstly, we intend to reconstruct the old center of the city and put it into order. The time has come to get down to the matter without reducing the scale of housing construction. I believe that by the end of the year many streets and squares will be refurbished and old Muscovites who love their city will see and appreciate our efforts.

The second priority is law enforcement. Many Muscovites say that the most important task is to guarantee the security of the person, dwelling and property, and I think they are right. We plan to work in several ways. The operation of the law enforcement bodies should be made more effective. This implies higher earnings, social security and greater prestige. It is an open secret that the public image of the police is low. Besides certain political structures and systems who would not want to have a strong police force as their opponent are intentionally playing it down. Law enforcement workers should have

priority in getting new housing. Their earnings should be at least doubled. The police will be provided with additional equipment, vehicles and means of communication. It should be better equipped than the criminal world, that is an axiom. And discipline must be raised. We are now energetically combatting corruption, bribes and drinking among policemen. Persons found guilty of such misconduct are being dismissed from law enforcement bodies.

I would also want to emphasize that the city will continue its support for culture and the arts. Important decisions have been made concerning individual theaters and companies. Artists will become owners of the studios they occupy now and their electricity bills will be reduced.

Speaking of the results of last year I would want to mention one fact. I have on my desk now a box of breakfast food: corn flakes and oat cereals Muscovites have almost forgotten about. There is plenty of this stuff abroad. A year ago there was a dump and swamp in the place of the plant producing this food. It is now turning out its first goods and in the near future it will reach its planned capacity of 120 tons a day.

There are also important achievements in energy and heating supplies. Last year the efforts of builders, specifically the denationalized Moscow corporation for industrial construction, produced good results: The commissioning of heating capacities of 1,200 gigacalories. This is a unique development in several decades. Even at the height of industrial construction Moscow did not build such capacities. The second boiler of the Northern Thermal Power Station should go into operation in the first half of January adding 1,500 gigacalories. The fundamental task has been carried out of building the facilities and reserves for reliably guaranteeing the heating of the city. Now we can close down several other stations for reconstruction to improve the environmental situation.

Here I would want to remind you of the stubborn refusal of some members of the city council to give a green light to the construction of the Northern station as they said it would seriously pollute the city air. It is clear today that the 256 meters tall pipe carrying wastes purified by the best European systems will not pollute the Losiny Ostrov preserve. The facility allows us to reconstruct the 21st and 23rd thermal stations that do pollute the air. One can say now that builders performed their task last year and guaranteed reliable heating to the northern part of the city.

Tatarstan's Shaymiyev Reviews 1992 Achievements

LD0901051793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1455 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Report on interview with Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev by correspondent A. Peslyak in Shaymiyev's office in Tatarstan on 31 December; from the "Big Circle" program—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Excerpts] [Peslyak] Mintimer Shaymiyev is 55 years old. He was born in a Tatar village and after school chose an agrotechnical vocation. His professional know-how, good sense, and grasp of organization were noted and appreciated and a long spell as Tataria's minister of land improvement and water conservancy added to his experience. At the dawn of glasnost he also became prime minister of the autonomous republic. A session of the Tatar parliament elected him chairman, and a year later, by a vote of the whole people, Shaymiyev was elected president of the Republic of Tatarstan. He is married with two sons.

The interview with him took place on New Year's Eve at the end of the latest session of the Republic's Supreme Soviet. Here we are in Shaymiyev's study in the Tatar Kremlin.

[Peslyak] "How is Tatarstan meeting the incoming year and bidding the outgoing year farewell?"

[Shaymiyev] "Well, as was the case everywhere, the year has been a difficult one. Unfortunately there was no success in raising the standard of living of the Republic's population in any way, although we adopted a number of what I would call radical measures, and they were of great benefit. I can say that as a result of these measures we managed to some extent to limit the drop in the population's living standards, but unfortunately there has not yet been any progress.

"As everywhere, the economy is tending toward recession. True, the rate of recession here is lower than in Russia as a whole. It may be noted with satisfaction that there have been some positive results in the agro-industrial sector, where gross production has increased by 9 percent in comparison with 1991. A record harvest of grain crops has been obtained, a fair amount of vegetables and potatoes has been procured, and the production of meat and dairy produce is proceeding normally. This gives us a guarantee and assurance that the population of our Republic will be provided with a sufficient amount of these products.

"It must also be said that the peaks of the acute political situation are now behind us, in my view. The people are ushering in the new year fairly calmly, and the sociopolitical situation is at present normal."

[Announcer] In the autumn of 1992, as was the case in the autumn of 1991, nationalist patriots held rallies outside parliament. The president and his government were accused of betraying the course of pursuing total independence for Tatarstan and there were demands for their resignation, a boycott of army service, and the withdrawal of Russian forces from Tatarstan. There were also rejections of vouchers and Russian jurisdiction over the Republic's law enforcement bodies.

[Shaymiyev] "The year was also noteworthy for the fact that we held a referendum. This year we held a congress of the peoples of Tatarstan and a World Congress of Tatars, and finally our parliament adopted a new constitution for our Republic."

[Announcer] Just a few words about the document that was adopted on 6 November 1992 by the parliament of Tatarstan. Article 1 states that the Republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign, democratic state expressing the will and interests of the Republic's entire multiethnic people. All power belongs to the people, and the soviets of people's deputies constitute the political base of the state. Article 3 states that mutual respect and voluntary, equal cooperation among all sections of the population and citizens of all nationalities serve as the social base of the state. Article 4 states that the Tatar and Russian languages are equal and state languages of the Republic of Tatarstan. Tatarstan has its own citizenship, and citizens of the Republic of Tatarstan also have Russian citizenship. Dual citizenship is also permitted with other states. Let us remind you that three-quarters of the Tatars reside outside the boundaries of Tatarstan.

The constitution covers the division of the three branches of authority, guarantees for the rights of national minorities, and the fact that a social market economy constitutes the basis of the economy of the Republic of Tatarstan; that is, the state will protect the population from impoverishment and inflation.

[Peslyak] "The image of Tatarstan is to a great extent an industrial one. This image is to a large degree formed by those enterprises on the territory of the Republic. What can one say about current economic development in the industrial sphere?"

[Shaymiyev] "Well, you know, we have quite a large representation of the agro-industrial complex, the defense complex. Enterprises are gradually finding their feet. Why? Because they are already beginning to get involved in specific conversion and are lessening the depth of this process. A number of enterprises are successfully mastering civilian production.

"I think that with this approach and this purposeful work, many enterprises will find their niche in the course of two or three years in manufacturing civilian products and fulfilling the defense orders they have today and those that I think they will continue to receive in the future.

"In any case, there have to be loans for these purposes. There are currently some doubts about whether loans should be granted to defense enterprises. I think that this question should not exist. I hope that the new Russian Federation Government....[changes thought] Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin understands these matters well, and I think great importance will be attached to this issue throughout Russia."

[Announcer] According to press reports, in addition to vouchers citizens of the Republic of Tatarstan will receive personal privatization investments totaling 40-60,000 rubles. This measure, according to the DELOVOY MIR newspaper, has come about through the desire to protect property so that its main owners are local citizens. The valuation of prices for state property will be based on market value rather than residual value. In August, Shaymiyev himself revealed that Tatarstan's saturation of fixed assets is greater than in other regions. Therefore, more state property is to be redistributed.

It should be recalled, however, that Tatarstan's economic potential was created in the prewar and stormy war years, and it was created by the whole country. It is not coincidental that there is a constellation of the military industrial complex here. It is not coincidental that planes, helicopters, computers, and optical instruments come from here. Russia still supplies Tatarstan with gas from Siberia. Rubber and polyethylene, tires, and photographic film are also the result of cooperation.

[Shaymiyev] "Our oil workers are fulfilling their obligations. There is a certain slump in the petrochemical complex, in the processing of petroleum products, because we....[changes thought] On the part of....[changes thought] They have not received the total amount of oil for refining. So I can say that right now, in my Republic, there are no enterprises standing idle for lack of work."

[Peslyak] "You said that the performance of agriculture is very important. This was mentioned at a recent meeting that you held with agricultural managers...."

[Shaymiyev, interrupting] "Yes, that was a couple of days ago, and it was a very important meeting indeed. The managers of all collective and state farms were there, as were those from private farms and small holdings. It was held in our Grand Theater. It was well-prepared in advance.

"We talked through all the issues worrying us. The main one is parity for agriculture, industry, and power engineering. Everyone in Russia, in all regions, us included, is going to spend money from the budget. This will come to....[changes thought] The main item of expenditure in our budget for the coming year will be subsidies to agriculture. This is unavoidable because otherwise agriculture will collapse. This is why we decided to discuss all aspects of the problem with the managers and to allocate 25 percent of the Republic's budget to the agricultural sector. It is a fair amount, and it will go to subsidising and supporting agriculture. I think that even this will turn out to be not enough. Without this kind of support agriculture will not survive."

[Peslyak] "The Republic of Tatarstan does not inhabit its own isolated world. We are not only neighbors and friends but in many ways we cooperate and depend on each other. Despite the fact that some people are thinking up various separatist or isolationist approaches, what can you say about relations with Russia and how do you perceive their current and future state?"

[Shaymiyev] "You are absolutely right that there are such opinions and voices; I would say even more so in central Moscow than in our Republic. Some movements and forces there, and even some senior figures, for whatever reason, want to interpret our position as separatism or as an attack on the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation. Our position is not subject to change. We adopted our Declaration of State Sovereignty in 1990, and this declaration is all the stronger for having been made after a national referendum. All this forms the heart of our new Constitution. We are in favor of treaty-based relations with the Russian Federation. When we say treaty-based relations, for some reason certain officials think that this means a break with the Russian Federation. Not so. We have always confirmed that Tatarstan does not want any violation of the Russian Federation's territorial integrity; what it does want is a revamp of its relations because they could become a factor in making the Russian Federation as democratic as possible.

"Why? Because today we cannot rule out the danger of the new creation of a center as rigid as the one we have only recently gotten rid of, which none of us liked and which we all criticized. Society is being renewed, so why can't there be new forms of relations? Furthermore, we say, this is a matter of an agreement on the mutual delegation of powers, but if powers are being delegated, how can you talk about a rupture? Also, when bringing our constitution into effect, we clearly wrote into a Supreme Soviet resolution that we are in favor of our relations with the Russian Federation being set in both the Russian Federation and Tatarstan Constitutions. The relations must be concessional and agreed. I think this suits us all, and it must suit us."

[Announcer] We remind you that Tatarstan is the only Republic within Russia that has not signed the Federation Treaty. Why? The answer is in the formulation of an article proposed by the then chairman of the constitutional commission, Mintimer Shaymiyev. The Republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state, a subject of international law, associated with the Russian Federation and Russia on the basis of a Treaty on mutually delegated powers and subjects of authority. This envisages a new level of independence, a tendency toward the external world, while recognizing the indissoluble attachment to Russia, but on a new foundation. The word Treaty is written with a capital letter, although there is still no such document.

[Shaymiyev] "We were in favor of a treaty being signed first and then the Republic's constitution being adopted, so that we could then introduce amendments to it. But it turned out that when we began the concluding phase of the treaty process and the preparations for a draft treaty, the political struggle which had broken out among bodies of Russian authorities, and the fact that many of the members of the working group were no longer in their posts—these things slowed up the treaty process. When we examined the constitution in its second reading and further, and when it went through the process of discussion by the whole people, it was no longer possible to halt this process. It was impossible.

"Then again, the Supreme Soviets of all the Republics have the right to adopt constitutions. It is their constitutional right. Indeed, when you adopt a new constitution you have to bring everything else into line with it. Within that procedure we are looking at a host of issues on how to define the status of the law enforcement bodies. This is linked on the one hand to the Constitution and on the other to our concern about adopting numerous legislative acts that might step up the fight against crime." [passage omitted on announcer's background information]

[Peslyak] "You meet with representatives of the public, and not only elected politicians. You visit various factories throughout your Republic. What thoughts, concerns, and hopes do the citizens of the Republic of Tatarstan—who are at the same time citizens of the Russian Federation—voice to you? What are the views of the Tatars, Russians, Mordovians, and Chuvash living in your Republic?"

[Shaymiyev] "If there had been an opinion poll six months ago, it would have shown that people were most worried about interethnic relations. A recent poll by our republican service shows that personal security is at the top of the list, the fight against crime. Over 54 percent of the public say that this is the issue that worries them most. Rising prices came in second."

[Announcer] Since this interview Shaymiyev and new Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin have already discussed the situation concerning the fact that Russia will not get almost half the oil extracted in 1993. For Tatarstan, however, oil is a way of subsidizing agriculture, first, and for solving ecological problems and providing social protection for the population. This cannot be ignored.

[Peslyak] "We hear from people with whom we have met that there are no problems at all at collective farms, state farms, or in the Kamaz or Yelaz motorworks. People live together and work together there. I think this idea is very important. It must bring people together not only inside; it must be heard outside as well."

[Shaymiyev] "I must tell you that, to the honor of our multiethnic people—and today we can say it with confidence—there were various stages of aggravation in the political situation in the Republic, but the friendship between the peoples of our Republic has not been destroyed. We are happy about this.

"There were different opinions. Moreover, this factor was used by various national and nonnational movements. Sometimes extreme forces tried to use it for their arrogant aims. But I think the people turned out to be wiser. We are happy about it. I believe that our central positions help the situation and—I can say it now—our firm central positions cannot be influenced by any

movements as far as the maintenance of stability in interethnic relations is concerned.

"The Republic has opted for a gentle introduction to the market economy. Today you probably think that prices in Tatarstan are rather high, although they are lower than in many other regions. But if you look at the beginning and middle of the year, you can see that they provided the population of the Republic with rather powerful protection against a blanket increase in prices. People are also impressed with this position on the economy. That is why the state bodies of power in the Republic enjoy a certain level of confidence from the people.

"A program for the social protection of the population is now being elaborated. We are already using new approaches; it will be targeted protection. We will also need significant funds for it, but I think that we must do it regardless of any other factors. That is the task of any government: to protect the people on low incomes in market conditions, especially as we have a transitional period. We will do it."

Mordovia Struggles Toward Democracy

PM0801125593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 93 Morning Edition p 5

[Irina Ovchinnikova article: "Moscow Scenario on the Saransk Stage, or How the Decisions of the Seventh Congress Are Being Implemented in Mordovia"]

[Text] Saransk—I spent three days at the end of December 1992 in Saransk at the 14th Session of the Supreme Soviet of Mordovia, or the Mordovian Soviet Socialist Republic, as it still calls itself.

But these outward signs of loyalty to a time gone by are not what it is all about, however. "Implement the decisions of the Seventh Congress"—that is the phrase which encapsulates the events of the three days of the session. The fact that this was not a party congress but, as it were, a soviet congress does not change the essence of these events.

The play that is being acted out on the local political stage was written in Moscow. The main characters are the same. The roles have, understandably, been adapted to fit local circumstances. Circumstances with a history of their own.

A year ago Mordovia elected a president. Out of five candidates two went through to the second round—Nikolay Vasilyevich Biryukov, former CPSU oblast committee secretary and Supreme Soviet chairman, a post he holds to this day, and Vasiliy Dmitriyevich Guslyannikov, the then little-known leader of Mordovia's branch of Democratic Russia. There is surely no need to describe the efforts made to try to secure the leadership of the republic for Biryukov. They even stooped so low as to beat the inconvenient Guslyannikov with an iron bar. It has been established that the attempt on his life was organized by the wife of the then chairman of the Council of Ministers. It should be mentioned that people here are convinced that she was released from jail with one wave of someone's hairy paw. The trial (in Penza) has been postponed and moved elsewhere.

Everyone knows that for each person beaten up in Russia there are plenty who are not. And even though Biryukov publicly states that Mordovia is not Russia, Guslyannikov, as was to be expected, won. There was a slight snag here: The chairman had prepared the laws to suit himself—the power of the president was designed to be limitless. At the session I attended, all these laws had to be reworked in entirely the opposite direction, that is, according to the principle of all power to the Soviets or in fact to Biryukov.

Meanwhile, in midsummer the local youth newspaper published a statement signed by 14 of the 17 members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, among them Deputy Chairman Burkanov. The statement essentially focused on the conduct of the chairman at presidium sessions, the use of his own position during the election campaign, and on his low professional level. But in the main it centered on the lack of power and responsibility which were the direct consequence of the discord in the work of the parliament and the attempts to supplant the government. The signatories plainly stated their intention to demand Biryukov's resignation. The statement caused a commotion but had no other tangible effect.

At the December session, Biryukov felt more than confident and unhesitatingly told deputies what their task was: "In the light of the present situation the Russian Congress has made 80 amendments to the Constitution. We have fallen behind a little."

They caught up pretty quickly. The timid attempts to suggest that the Constitution is not being amended in keeping with the situation were nipped in the bud. Not one amendment drafted by the Legislation Commission was adopted, they did not even discuss a single comment by that commission, which tried to explain that by subordinating the government directly to the Supreme Soviet (or rather, I repeat, its chairman), inserting an article on the accountability to it of the members of the Constitutional Court (who are elected here not for life but for 10 years), and depriving the president of all powers, deputies are contributing to the establishment of a regime of one-man rule.

It was a carbon copy of all the scenes acted out in Moscow. There was not a single speech which did not wipe the floor with the government and the president who heads it.

The only difference was that here they do not hide behind the noncommittal assertion that reforms are necessary only "not these ones," instead they speak bluntly: We have to go back, to the centralized structures, to the days when Moscow provided everything and the local authorities divided it up, keeping the special stores, special apartments, and special hospitals for

themselves. The rest got what was left over. And how can it be otherwise if more than one-third of the deputies are yesterday's top-rank party workers and about a quarter are plant and sovkhoz directors and kolkhoz chairmen? More than three-quarters were elected unopposed in their districts.

Why wonder then at the thunderous speech by local construction boss P. Grak (received to cheers) accusing the government of causing the collapse of...the association he heads. I asked him afterward: Where did you get your resources from before? It turns out that the state provided them. It is easy to run something if all you have to do is lie back and repeat one and the same word: Give. You should have seen the indignation caused by the president when, replying to the question of why the medical sobering-up stations are closing down, he said, quite reasonably in my view, that no one was closing them—if a rayon has the money and the budget permits it, keep them open. The same goes for the people's volunteer militia—if an enterprise agrees to release people for duty, give them paid leave.

Ah, but the crime rate is rising (again the government's fault). But to prevent it rising the government must spare no expense on maintaining the police, which will cost big bucks, not pennies. But where are these big bucks to come from if the government has to give to industry and pay the costs of agriculture. What will be left for education, medicine, and the protection of public order? The pocket is not bottomless; on the contrary, it is full of holes.

No speeches were to be heard about how to darn it and what to fill it with. Meanwhile cottages are springing up like mushrooms around Saransk. But why are orders not flooding into Grak's office? Well, because you have to adapt, you have to stretch your brain. You need a brain even to start up oil mills or sausage plants, gather medicinal herbs (the Mordovian woods are full of them), clear felling areas and trade in the timber. But to do this, people will have to get off their butts because things will not happen by themselves or with the wave of a magic wand anymore. The time of magic wands is past. And it is hard to come to terms with this. One of the speakers said, without a trace of embarrassment, that the sheep definitely require a shepherd.

Well, the LUCH newspaper printed the call "Communists of the whole of Mordovia unite!" during the days of the session. Yesterday's shepherds are even prepared to get the whip out from under the bench where they put it in fright: Here in Potma we have room for everyone. This is a joke!

"We must gear ourselves to the Seventh Congress, which deemed the work of Gaydar's government unsatisfactory." "The decisions of the Seventh Congress show the only true path." "With the aim of implementing the decisions of the Seventh Congress." It is ages since we heard such incantations. Until recently it was hard to imagine that a program proposed by the local government could be torn to pieces purely on the grounds that it is apparently structured on the basis of the deepening of reforms condemned by the Seventh Congress which, it was said, displayed wisdom and a principled attitude.

Well, what can you do. Whether we wanted to or not, we allowed this to happen. Now we will have to get ourselves out of this mess. You felt sorry for those few people who tried to convince us that there was no disaster in comparison with 1991: In 1991, 75 kg of meat were consumed per person, while in 1992 it was 72, and this same person consumed 320 kg of milk and dairy products in 1991 in comparison with last year's 313. Things had gotten worse, that's true, but there is no cold or famine and the counters have nevertheless been full. (With my own eyes I saw sausages, for example, at half the price they are in Moscow, where no one goes to buy produce any more—it is now more likely to be transported in the opposite direction.) You also felt sorry for the 30-year-old minister of economics, who was trampled on without a twinge of conscience: Why did he present a forecast which made out that the fall in production would continue, albeit at a slower rate? How dare you predict such a thing?

Since the speeches resembled each other as though they had been written by the same hand, it is easy to distinguish a motif common to all of them: Don't touch us, and don't push us anywhere, because we are not ready. We are not ready for the market, we are especially not ready for democracy, and as for the subject of living independently and existing on what we have earned, there is no point in even talking about it. All right, so you are not ready. But do you want to prepare yourselves? Don't you need to make a start?

Admittedly, the question is whether the deputies want to make a start. Tractor driver V. Anoshkin complains: "The peasant was given free will, and this means a millstone around his neck." And then in the train I got talking with a young boy. He told me that his father has two-hundredths of a hectare. He has enough food for himself, the two families of his grown-up sons, and in addition he sells food. On learning that I was going to the session, he shook his ginger locks: But what is the point? They will not give us land into our own possession anyway, because to them this is the thin end of the wedge and it will mean the end of their authority. So decide for yourselves, whether to listen to the tractor driver with the badge on his lapel or the peasant's son who is not burdened with anything except common sense.

That was what was missing at the session—common sense. Instead, there was more than enough easy morals. And the chairman exploits these easy morals without bothering himself with the cunning moves of his mentor in the capital. When the need arises, to make sure that everyone votes "for," he proposes without any beating about the bush: Raise your cards. If someone puts forward proposals that do not suit him, he does not put them to the vote and that's that. Only one of the two

draft laws on the government (even here they are doing the same as the grown-ups!) is being circulated beforehand and therefore discussed.

And yet I would not like IZVESTIYA readers to give in to depression. Yes, when it is drummed into deputies' heads that what they vote for becomes law, it is deplorable. It is painful to realize that the VECHERNYY SARANSK newspaper is right to warn that the people who are groping their way to power, as personified by Biryukov, are "gray people with only one talent—the talent for plotting. They are clutching and clawing at power, ...they agree to every possible humiliation and trick so as not to be deprived of the precious post. They know that they will never again have such an opportunity."

And yet, several years ago it was impossible to conceive of the possibility of what I have observed in Saransk, and what you can probably observe everywhere. Although it is a tortuous process, although it is most often still in caricatured form, the people's power is nevertheless coming into existence and gathering pace. No matter how much the democrats are abused and slandered, the deputies are using their achievements when they fearlessly denounce presidents, speakers, premiers from the rostrum and in front of television cameras, which they never dared do when party chiefs sat on the presidia. Maybe they express themselves in a way that is far from parliamentary. Maybe their behavior does not coincide at all with what had been elaborated and perfected for centuries. We are only just beginning to lay the foundations. Our lawmakers' experience does not even come to three years, never mind three hundred. And those who do not tire of reminding us that there is no other parliament and no other parliamentarians in Russia are right. And this is particularly true of Mordovia.

This means only one thing: We must care for and tend to the weak shoots of Russian parliamentarianism, whatever it may be like. If we do not get through this, if we do not nurture the parliament, the president, the Constitutional Court, and the worthy concepts to which they must correspond, then we will revert to the times when both Saransk and Moscow did very well without these concepts.

And when we determine whom we want with us, we should not be choosing between Guslyannikov and Biryukov or Yeltsin and Khasbulatov, but between those on the one hand who may make mistakes and lose their way but who nevertheless move forward, because they understand the doomed and fruitless nature of our 70 years of tragic experience, and—on the other—those who look back with nostalgia to this experience because they do not know how to live otherwise. Thank God that we have lived to see the time when everyone can make their choice—as they will in April—thinking only of making sure that the seats in Potma, where there is room for everyone, continue to remain unoccupied.

Article Examines North Caucasus Conflicts

PM0801115193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Jan 93 First Edition p 4

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences Yu. Kalmykov, president of the International Cherkess Association: "When Will Russia Really Start To Pursue a New Nationalities Policy?"]

[Text] The situation in the North Caucasus remains unstable. The inhabitants of the Russian Federation's southern republics are temperamental, touchy, and proud: Each people has its own traditions and customs and at the same time the North Caucasus inhabitants have virtually one culture, the same basic rules of behavior which were formed in a special code of unwritten laws, in which the Caucasus mountain dwellers call the adats.

But when national problems are being resolved are the special features of these peoples taken into consideration, do people know their history, daily lives, and morals? It looks as though they do not always. Otherwise they would not have sent to the Caucasus a former vice mayor and present vice premier with more idea about production affairs than ethnic problems who, it seems to me, has in a quite brief time been able to drive such a wedge in relations between two neighboring peoples that a conciliatory decision will take many years to achieve. The North Caucasus has now been turned in practice into a zone where a martial law regime is in operation. Without a decision by parliament, without the relevant legal procedures.

People explain this by the fact that a large number of weapons have accumulated here, that the Ossetian-Ingush conflict is dangerous. It has also been stated that the North Caucasus is a region in which Russia's special priority interests exist and are manifested. Surely people must understand that a statement of that kind is breathtaking in its directness, that of itself it reduces to nothing everything which has been done on the plane of nation-state building? Because this is said as though there did not exist in the North Caucasus seven republics which have adopted declarations on sovereignty and which, irrespective of whether they belong to the Russian Federation, have their own interests.

Why was it necessary to concentrate such an enormous quantity of troops from sea to sea in the North Caucasus? All regions of the country are now bulging with weapons and citing such factors explains nothing. I think the reason lies elsewhere—in the existence of independent Chechnya and its influence on the other Caucasus peoples.

But if there is a problem of this kind then it will hardly be resolved successfully by forces of arms, even the most sophisticated arms. There is one more thing I do not understand: the creation of all kinds of provisional administrations, the appointment of an official to coordinate all organs and power structures in this vast region.

People may take offense, but really the present innovations are reminiscent of the vice-regency system which existed in the last century (as we know, at the time there were no republics and there was no sovereignty).

The system looked like this: The vice-regent, that is the czar's henchman responsible for the state of affairs in the region, the ruling prince or marshal (not all peoples of the North Caucasus recognized or had princes; some elected marshals for wars and periods of grave hardships), and the people, obliged to fulfill the supreme commands and to obey their leaders.

It looks as though the present "Coordinator" (let us call him that) has no smaller powers than those possessed by Grand Prince Mikhail Nikolayevich, who as vice-regent ended the war in the Caucasus in 1884. But that was a period of general war while now it is peacetime and we must speak of the need of settling a local conflict. I can understand the desire to implement some preventive measures but not all-embracing actions which do not improve the situation but have the opposite effect.

All this is bad. Bad because at the official level words are again at odds with deeds.

As for some leaders of the North Caucasus republics, having exchanged the garb of party committee first secretaries for the posts of president or parliamentary chairman and having kept their own people from the former nomenklatura and entirely modern mafiosi in key posts, have acquired opportunities undreamed of by the ruling princes or party committee secretaries, since the former had to beware of their freedom-loving peoples and the latter, whatever they said, had to beware of the Central Committee.

Now both restraining factors have disappeared. The result is that sovereignty is used in some cases in the personal interests of such leaders. More concerned for their own fate and personal affairs, they sing hallelujahs of praise to the center and swear loyalty to Russia. In these republics reforms are making virtually no headway and there are no bold and independent decisions. On the other hand unquestioning party obedience has been retained, which entirely suits the country's top leadership.

On the general plane one cannot fail to agree that in this difficult transitional period we must do everything to emerge from the grave economic crisis in which we have found ourselves. But that in no way means that the solution of national problems should be switched to the indefinite future. This will hardly succeed in general since these problems are not subsidiary, secondary problems, but problems just as important (if not more important than) questions of economic recovery. Another reason why we will not be able to rid ourselves of them is that they are increasingly making themselves felt with meetings and appeals, conflicts and clashes.

But how to resolve them and what in that sense can be done in the North Caucasus? It seems to me that with a view to bringing some positive influence to bear on the processes taking place here and above all in the zone of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, it would be expedient to implement the following ideas and recommendations.

First, what needs to be done is to withdraw or substantially reduce the contingent of armed forces introduced into the North Caucasus region. In peacetime one cannot create on the territories of sovereign republics an occupying regime which gives rise to a powerful allergy among the indigenous peoples and promotes the widespread dissemination of anti-Russian sentiments.

Who needs this and why? Why must Russian people suffer again because of the not very considered actions of their leaders? They already bear the burden of the consequences of the collapse of the former USSR—millions of people have surged forth in an endless flow into the country's central regions, almost within the borders of ancient Rus, getting as far away as possible from the discriminatory laws of some newly formed states, from the narrow-minded nationalism, from everything which diminishes the dignity and honor of the normal man.

The only thing I cannot understand is where are those responsible, where are those who swore an oath of loyalty to the people and the Constitution? They are not there. Or they are there but do not intend to be responsible, because someone else is to blame and they are always right... In brief, we need to do everything to ensure that the tragedy is not repeated within the framework of the Russian Federation. But to achieve this aim we must not do things which will provoke this development of events.

We cannot intimidate Chechnya with military preparations. If any actions are taken against Chechnya the entire North Caucasus will rise up. No one will ask the republics' leaders for permission.

There remains one course—using political methods for resolving urgent problems. But for that, I stress once again, we must create the necessary conditions, that is withdraw the troops from the region.

I believe that the Chechen Republic leaders must also renounce radical slogans and appeals. Having achieved a high enough level of independence, they should think also of the socioeconomic problems facing the republic. And without Russia these problems are hard to resolve. The talks which Vice Premier Ya. Mamodayev is now conducting are the only correct path which can lead to positive results. It is time to renounce the policy of mutual intimidation.

Second, I believe that we must determine as soon as possible the status of the Council of Heads of the Republic so that, in addition to its other powers, we can give it the functions of a third organ taking an active part in the solution of interethnic conflicts.

This is a difficult but noble mission. If in the case of a dispute between two republics or between a republic and

the center all the other republics or individual representatives of these republics elaborate some common position, it will become the most authoritative and on the moral and legal plane more binding than the decisions of any other state organs. I am convinced of the high degree of effectiveness of this organizational form.

As far as the Ossetian-Ingush problem is concerned, I would recommend two interlinked measures: a) that military formations be withdrawn from the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia and be deployed as peacemaking forces on the border between them; b) that the leaders of the two republics immediately sit down at the negotiating table with the participation as mediators of the heads of two other republics and, of course, a representative of the center.

The exercise of the mediatory functions could, for example, be vested in President A. Dzharimov of Adygea and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Bashkortostan M. Rakhimov, people of authority who are distinguished by a thoughtful attitude to the problems of their own republics and who, while principled, are also capable of making compromise decisions.

However, the choice of mediators is a matter for the actual parties in dispute: Provided there is mutual agreement on the people who are to participate in resolving the conflict, there will be no suspicion of one-sided attitudes or a prejudiced approach to the solution of the problem.

Third, the more general question of the legal status of the constituent republics of the Russian Federation is also directly linked to the situation prevailing in the North Caucasus.

But I would first like to answer those people who continue persistently calling for unification of the nation-state and administrative-territorial division of the country and for the de facto elimination of the republics in order to restrict the tackling of the nationalities problem to the level of cultural autonomy.

Certain politicians ought to realize that a distinctive feature of the Russian state (unlike the United States, Switzerland, and so forth) has been that it is made up of peoples who have had their own statehood in the past. For example, the state independence of Kabarda was recognized by Russia and Turkey on the basis of the Belgrad Treaty, back in 1739. That event is known not just to politicians but also to the politicized population of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic (particularly the Kabards). How, then, is it possible, given such conditions, to call for the status of the latter to be reduced to the level of a culturally autonomous formation?

Let us now look at the legal status of the constituent republics of the Russian Federation.

It has already been noted that the situation prevailing in the North Caucasus was predetermined to a considerable extent by the anxiety felt by the center over the trends which have emerged during the formation and development of the Chechen Republic. But we also observe such things in certain other republics, for example, in Tatarstan or the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia).

So must strong-arm methods also be used in the corresponding regions? Of course not. They should be forgotten about altogether. I think that, for all the outward radicalism of the decisions made, they do not indicate a rupturing of relations with Russia, and further steps should be taken in the area of a) presrving the unity of the Russian Federation and b) vesting the republics with the kind of powers which will enable them to tackle all their problems independently.

They are both capable of functioning as part of a unified Russian Federation while at the same time exercising the degree of independence which enables them to be described as "a state within a state." (The Russian Federation Constitution defines the republic as a state which enjoys full authority on its own territory except for those powers which fall within the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation). True, they will be distinguished from each other by a different level of sovereignty.

I should like to conclude by stressing the following: The main thing now is to give effective help in settling the Ossetian-Ingush conflict in the light of the opinion and the interests of both peoples. At the same time it is necessary to eschew measures which inflame the situation in the remaining regions of the North Caucasus. All the uproar over mobilization organized down there does nothing but harm.

But perhaps that suits some people? That thought does sometimes occur.

International Affairs

Tarasyuk Outlines Problems With START Treaty

OW1101161193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1434 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] There may be certain problems on the path of ratifying the "START" treaty by the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, announced the Chairman of the National Committee on Disarmament and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Boris Tarasyuk at a meeting with journalists in Kiev on his return from the USA. Tarasyuk thinks that, in the first place, are the absence of guarantees for the security of the republic, inadequate financial aid from the West and in the final analysis the absence of conditions for the dismantling and destruction of warheads. These problems concretely affect the approach for discussing the treaty in the commissions of the Ukrainian parliament.

The Deputy Defense Minister of Ukraine, Ivan Bizhan, told journalists that the republic is not working out codes for missiles placed on its territory and is not taking upon itself control over strategic nuclear forces. He noted that the administration of strategic weapons of the CIS is still unified as was stated in the Alma-Ata agreement of 1991.

At the same time Bizhan noted the necessity for Ukraine to have administrative control over weapons placed on its territory. In his opinion the president of the republic must have the real possibility to block the launching of strategic missiles.

Warhead Components To Be Used for Fuel

OW1101190593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1633 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dimitry Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] If Kiev and Moscow manage to reach an agreement on the terms of dismantling and scrapping nuclear warheads deployed on Ukrainian soil, this will have a positive effect on the Ukrainian Parliament's attitude to the possibility of ratifying START-1 and joining the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister and chairman of the National Disarmament Committee, Boris Tarasyuk, told DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. According to him, such an agreement would be conducive to resolving some of the problems "Ukrainian parliamentarians will undoubtedly raise."

Ukraine's deputy foreign minister believes that the nuclear components of the warheads deployed on Ukrainian soil can certainly be used as fuel for nuclear-power plants. "For this purpose the concentration of the weapons-grade uranium used in the warheads will have to be reduced, and this is more than practicable," he said.

The diplomat made it clear that Kiev proceeded precisely from this notion, when it invited Moscow to conduct corresponding full- scale talks. "Unfortunately, we have received no reply concerning a concrete date for the start of such talks for more than a month now," B. Tarasyuk said.

In principle it's possible to lower the concentration of weapons- grade plutonium from nuclear warheads, and use it as fuel for nuclear-power plants, but this will require enormous expenditure, said Aleksandr Savelyev, vice-president of the Russian Institute for Strategic Research and a member of the London-based Institute for Strategic Research.

In the present circumstances, he told DP, Kiev's idea is hard to accomplish, since Ukraine has no technology needed to lower the concentration of weapons-grade plutonium.

Russia does have such technology, but no one knows how this technology will react, if used on a large scale. Besides, it's necessary to calculate the cost of such large-scale use, and take into account the fact that "Ukraine seems to have no intention of paying for anything".

Official Says Republic Has 'No Nuclear Status'

LD1201124593 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Jan 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Concerning relations between Russia and Ukraine, one can say that the future of the two major Slav republics depends on how the configuration of their geopolitical interests is worked out. Meanwhile, Ukraine has adopted a new outline for building its Armed Forces. Georgiy Zhivitsa, first deputy defense minister of Ukraine, [title as received] speaks about this:

[Begin recording] [Zhivitsa] Instead of districts, we are creating an operational command. We are reducing the number of divisions and are turning divisions from offensive divisions into more defensive ones. We are giving up motorized rifle and tank divisions and will be creating mechanized divisions, namely infantry divisions and mounted rifle brigades. We want to increase the quantity of defensive weaponry for divisions and all troops and to cut back on offensive weaponry.

[Unidentified correspondent] Much is being said in the West about Ukraine's nuclear status. Is the point of view on this changing today or not?

[Zhivitsa] Whose point of view?

[Correspondent] That of the government and Defense Ministry.

[Zhivitsa] Well, Ukraine has no nuclear status. Ukraine does not have the fissionable materials technology and cannot be regarded as a nuclear power. You know that there have been nuclear weapons belonging to the United States on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany for a very long time, but Germany never declared itself a nuclear power. How then can Ukraine declare itself a nuclear power if it does not have the technology? There are nuclear weapons on the territory of Ukraine but Ukraine does not control these nuclear weapons. It only controls their nonuse, dismantling, and reduction. That is called administrative control. [end recording]

Navy Chief Criticizes Agreement on Black Sea Fleet

LD1001134993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1253 GMT 10 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 10 TASS—A top Ukrainian navy commander has reportedly openly opposed the agreement reached between the Ukrainian and Russian presidents in Yalta last year on the disputed Black Sea fleet.

The document is detrimental to Ukraine and the signature of Leonid Kravchuk is not a guideline, Ukrainian navy commander, Rear Admiral Borys Kozhyn was quoted as saying during a visit to the Ismail Garrison on January 3 in a report of the commander of Ismail-based River Speed-Boat Brigade, Valeriy Pomazan.

TASS learned from the press centre of the Black Sea fleet on Sunday that while in Ismail Kozhyn said his task was to transfer the disputed navy under Ukrainian jurisdiction without waiting for the political solution of the question envisaged by the Yalta Agreement.

Kozhyn also declared that a house built for the personnel of the garrison becomes Ukrainian property.

On the last day of 1992 part of the personnel of an artillery brigade of coast guard forces of the Black Sea fleet took an oath of loyalty to Ukraine after representatives of the republican Defence Ministry arrived there for the purpose, according to the press centre.

On Sunday, Ukrainian navy officers appeared in the polyclinic of the Black Sea fleet saying it had been transferred to the Ukrainian Defence Ministry by an order of a deputy defence minister.

All these facts testify that the Ukrainian Defence Ministry tries to unilaterally take over the Black Sea fleet without waiting for the solution of the problem at the political level and thus eliminate the very subject of negotiations, a spokesman for the Black Sea fleet told TASS.

Kravchuk Comments on CIS Statutes

LD0901190793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 5 Jan 93

[Remarks by President Leonid Kravchuk following a consultative meeting with representatives of political parties, movements, and public organizations about the elaboration of positions regarding signing the statute of the Commonwealth of Independent States, on 4 January; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] All the same, in spite of all the differences in points of view regarding the expediency of our meeting, the majority of those who spoke said that it was necessary and useful. I join in with that, although clearly we cannot adopt decisions here at the moment, and no such purpose was set. What was set was to hear out the positions and points of view of the forces which were represented here. And I do not think that they are all that small. The Federation of Trade Unions alone has 22 million members, to say nothing of parties, which are perhaps not all that numerous as yet. But they have a great influence. But it depends on the direction of this influence, whether to develop our position regarding the independence of Ukraine or whether to consolidate our position altogether and be responsible for this. A lot will depend on that, on how and toward what the people lean. Well, I do not need to prove to you that arguments, counterarguments, and (?a tendency) to dramatize the situation or show internal reserve forces, which can and should be to put into action, (?have great significance for) [word indistinct] (?people, and, well, affect them in a practical way).

I do not want to construct my speech in some sort of systematic nature. I will try to set myself questions, those that you asked, and to reply to them, as I understand things.

Well, for example, who needs a new statute? First of all, let us think about this. I think that it is needed by those forces, and this was emphasized, who want to return to a unified union state, and to turn the Commonwealth into a union. This is absolutely clear. And I am not exaggerating anything here. And each state should come to its completed conceptual development as full-blooded, fully fledged, economically strong, and politically independent. This is determined in our documents, jointly signed in Belarus and in Alma-Ata. But this is now being placed at a distance, because it is necessary in this way to return to the Union, and as for how it will be called, socialist or nonsocialist, this is now another matter. But (?this is how it is with) the Union. If you recall the last months in the life of the Union, then these people who today support this idea of setting up a union never renounced it because the last sitting of the Council of the Federation, the Council of States, which took place in Moscow, showed that all leaders who speak today, be it as presidents or as heads of state, stated then that a confederation, or a federation, is the only way out of the situation. In this way there is absolutely nothing new

here. That is, they retreated for a period of time in order to return now to those conceptual positions which they occupied previously.

Why does the world want, or a section of political leaders and mass media, want the CIS to exist? There are two reasons. The first of them is that everyone fears the Yugoslav variant and knows that the situation, which could become acute, could cause very serious global political consequences. This is the first thing.

And second, they fear the pilfering of nuclear weapons. And in order for these two problems not to threaten the world they are ready to support any kind of centralized organization or superstate at this stage. This is how they see the CIS. This is true. Here are the two main reasons. I do not think that they are very interested in our, as they say (?particular), internal economic and political disposition. It (?interests) them, because it (?is retransmitted into a real) situation.

Now several points concerning the statute. I, as well as those who have made speeches here, do not want to analyze it now. What is more, in the main it has already been analyzed. There are just a few aspects upon which it would be possible to dwell by way of reasoning.

The first of them is this. Let us recall the former British Commonwealth. Look at what is now, (?simply) the Commonwealth. This commonwealth, and this is exactly what the CIS is called. The Commonwealth exists without a statute and without a program. It has a declaration on common issues which this commonwealth settles. And, by the way, it settles them not in a bad way at all when there is good will on the part of those (?incorporated in it).

Second, the European Community is now transforming, or taking steps toward transformation, to a new quality. According to the Treaty of Rome—in 1957 if I am not mistaken—a step toward a commonwealth was taken. Thirty-five years have passed to begin taking a new step. That means people have a responsible attitude toward what they, i.e. politicians, are offering, and make a prognosis of the consequences, of whether there is readiness or insufficient readiness for such a step. And now they can see how many problems there are.

That is why I am convinced that none of the CIS states—if we are talking about the CIS as a commonwealth and not as a union or as a return to the former structures, and this is what is being (?revealed in) the statute—are ready now to enter a commonwealth which is determined by [words indistinct]. This is one thing.

We are not ready, given the level of our development and the completeness of our state and political structures, we are only at the beginning of the construction of our independence.

Second [as heard], the statute itself can only be examined when all explanatory documents are enclosed with it. That means it must not happen that today we sign the statute and then tomorrow, referring to a certain article of which there are many, we begin adopting documents even if Ukraine opposes it, because an article is built in which reads: If any state objects this does not at all mean that this document will not be adopted. (?Very) straightforward.

Believe me, I already have experience. In Minsk the procedure and agenda were adopted, and it was said that all documents were to be adopted on the basis of consensus. Virtually none of the documents were adopted on the basis of consensus. States would form a group and they would say: We have such and such interests. Again are adopted on the basis of the majority. That is exactly what it will be like. [passage omitted]

Now one more very important point: I simply want us to pay attention to it for our propaganda [as heard]. They say now that if we do not sign the statute, the position of Ukraine will worsen because pressure can be applied to it, first of all economic pressure. Well, I assume this can be so. But if we do agree to sign they will say there will not be this pressure, and oil, gas, (?bread), etc. will come to us. All this is simply far-fetched, believe me, far-fetched. Nothing will come. Because we, or rather those who are saying this, are not thinking in terms of the current situation but in terms of the situation 10 years ago. They think that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin will instruct people in Tyumen, and the people in Tyumen will immediately lay down a pipe and send us gas or oil. Nothing will be given, and no one will send anything in. [passage omitted]

If we would assume that those who now want to return to the union, i.e to a supercentralized state, want to return to it in Ukraine, they have to know that both Russia and Belarus have to return to it in this manner and only then is it possible to have all this again.

But if it is Ukraine that is to become a nature reserve for totalitarianism, or to take the initiative in creating the union, it will be left on its own. Because other laws and another kind of order are in action out there.

But when they come out onto the platform and begin to profiteer from economic difficulties, then it is this that attention is paid to, as if to say that if we only take a step over there, then we will now have a crisis. This will not be. I am stressing this because I know that a lot depends on us, on how we to demonstrate to people the real situation, and not an imaginary situation, and that the road to independence lies through our work, through our united understanding. This is the situation in which we have ended up.

And no one is simply going to give away their wealth to us like this simply because we have signed the statute. But this is how they want to present the situation now. Well, after this meeting I am inviting you to think about what we are proposing, about what we are calling for, and what this could lead to in the internal and external political situation, and the (?losses) of ourselves as a

people, as a nation, as a state. Where is that boundary beyond which a person loses his national dignity.

You know, I have never been ashamed to say this to you here, to all the forces and parties which are present: Yes, I occupied a relevant post in the [Communist] Party, when there was a Ukrainian Party—rather a detachment of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, one could say, when we had the USSR. And this was the empire. And I am not ashamed to say that as long as I have strength, I will struggle not only against the empire that was, but also against any attempts to return to that empire. [applause] And these are not simply words. This is not simply a statement for the people. I know that not everyone accepts them, especially as it is not the statement which is being greeted by your applause.

I know one thing, that any other step would be a step away from one's state, away from the people, away from the nation, from that which we deserve, both this land and the people. I know this for sure. And we do not need to be ashamed of anyone or anything. When you conduct a just struggle there is no need to be ashamed. But when you are unsteady, and when you want your people to go under the yoke again, then it is necessary to think about whether to speak or not to speak. Forgive me for this emotional turn, but it is necessary today. It is necessary for us so that we sense our strength, our will, and our disposition once again. And we agree to tolerate both criticism and dissatisfaction, and this is because we know and see that we have not done everything that we could. But I will ask whether it was possible to do everything in a year [words indistinct] with such a combination of circumstances, when we are searching, and when we do not have a complete external and internal policy concept yet [words indistinct]. But to present it as if we have nothing at all, this is simply, well, this is an unwillingness to see what has been done (?during the time). I want this to be understood.

And I do not think that any position, be it as an associate member or as an observer, should be examined today. We should simply state that these documents and this position do not coincide with either our possibilities, or with our legislative norms, or with the fundamental interests of our people. And this is all. And it needs time [words indistinct]. And we should examine it in this way. I think that this will be correct.

Well, as for why Russia wants the CIS, we know this, because Russia has never moved away from its intentions to be a superstate and to be a leading force in the CIS and beyond the boundaries of the CIS. But I do not want it to be understood in this way, that we are criticizing Russia today. I support those who said that Russia is carrying out a policy which protects the interests of Russia—(?global) and national ones—and which proceeds from the possibilities of this state. This is a practical matter. And we cannot interfere here (?in practical policy).

But there are two points which I would like us to (?watch out for). First, in its politics as a member of the United Nations, Russia should be guided by international [word indistinct] norms, and cannot obstruct the will of any people, including our people, the people of Ukraine, the Ukrainian people. And this is now the responsibility of Russia as a member of international (?communities).

Second—the question may be put like this—is it advantageous for Russia to have a confrontation with Ukraine? If the politicians there are wise, which I want to expect, then I can say with certainty that it is not advantageous, because any situation in Ukraine will cause corresponding or equivalent complications in Russia as well. This is the first thing. [as heard] And the second thing [as heard]: We have to live on the same globe and have to have common borders, but to live as independent states on equal terms. If everyone understands this and sees Ukraine in this way. [sentence as heard] And Ukraine sees Russia in this very way today and wants to have these same relations on equal terms with it—partnership. Then everything will be, as they say, as it should be between us.

And yet another aspect. Do we in Ukraine have forces which want a union via the CIS? Yes, we do. And they do not conceal this, and this is not a dramatic thing. Our policy should be such, I agree with those who criticized us for not being able to give new economic breath to our Ukraine. And naturally, one can weave various garlands, as they say, various garlands. And this is done in this way, and I have somehow already spoken about this, and I can reply to a lot of questions, but it is not time to reply. There are problems that I cannot (?answer) for myself. Let us take (?our position) and (?recent) history, then naturally, in practice, I have not managed to digest everything, to read everything. It is difficult. But I did what I could.

I have not found forces anywhere which in their society (?would) call upon their people to go into slavery, and call upon them to shed blood over this. So, I have not found this. This is an interesting point. And this will be the subject for very serious analysis for historians. Take our history of Ukraine—the Twenties—and now too, there are forces ready to repeat things, to stir up people, and to lead them into battle, to bloodshed, so that Ukraine is part of somewhere and is not an independent state. And this is interesting. And I cannot reply to this question. I cannot, however hard I try.

What is there here? Is there no dignity here? Is there no understanding here [words indistinct] of simply the elementary human force of freedom. What is not here? Or perhaps there is the first and highest here, (?of) those who will come and help turn us that way, and give power to those who are now vociferating. (?Is this it)? Maybe this is it, but this is not the final answer. And so I am sincerely grateful to all those who expressed themselves today, so that people could hear (?this), and hear on what sort of frontier we find ourselves today.

Kravchuk Meets Israeli Leaders, Attends Dinner

LD1201001093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2146 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By UKRINFORM special correspondent Viktor Demidenko and ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Zhudro]

[Text] Tel Aviv, 12 Jan—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who arrived in Israel on an official visit, met Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin and Minister of Foreign Affairs Shim'on Peres.

During the talks, the sides unanimously stressed the importance of the further development of Ukrainian-Israeli relations. As the Ukrainian president pointed out, the establishment of widescale bilateral relations with Israel is a priority of Ukraine's Middle East policy. Israel's great significance for Ukraine is engendered by geographical proximity, convenience of marine and air communications between the two countries, and the considerable potential for mutually favorable cooperation in the fields of economy, trade, investment, science, culture, and tourism. Ukraine, L. Kravchuk pointed out, is also interested in learning from Israel's experience in conversion to a market economy, combating inflation, and developing the agricultural complex and processing industry. The establishment of equitable and mutually favorable relations with Israel and ensuring peace, stability, and security in the Middle East is in Ukraine's national interests.

President Hayim Herzog of Israel gave a dinner in honor of L. Kravchuk. Welcoming the high-ranking Ukrainian guest, H. Herzog noted that his visit to Israel was a true manifestation of the changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe. Jews lived in Ukraine for hundreds of years without suffering, the president of Israel continued. At the same time, there was a mutual cultural enrichment of both peoples. The present visit symbolizes the beginning of a new period in relations between our states and peoples. We are aware of the significance of Ukraine, and wish to jointly develop the great potential for cooperation that exists.

In his reply, L. Kravchuk thanked H. Herzog for the invitation to visit Israel and expressed profound satisfaction at his meetings and talks with Israeli leaders, which are taking place in a spirit of mutual understanding and in a constructive and frank atmosphere. Today, said L. Kravchuk, by dint of joint effort, we are writing a new and important chapter in the history of our mutual relations. I want to provide assurances that Ukraine is ready to cooperate for the well-being of the peoples of both countries. The process of establishing the statehood of Ukraine and the radical changes to its social, political, and economic life are taking place in complex conditions, pointed out L. Kravchuk. We have a noble aim before us, that of securing the prosperity of our people, peace in society, and respect for the rights and freedoms of all citizens, irrespective of their nationality, faith, or political views.

Having become a party to international cooperation based on equality of rights, Ukraine is committed to forming partnership and mutually advantageous cooperation, not only with its neighboring countries in Europe, but with the United States and Canada, where many Ukrainians live. Ukraine also seeks friends and partners in the Middle East. The president said: We consistently favor a peaceful political settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict from positions of complete compliance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council. Such an approach must ensure respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence of all states in the regions, including Israel, as well as their right to live in peace within the framework of internationally recognized and guaranteed rights.

L. Kravchuk pointed out that after diplomatic relations had been established, bilateral ties between Ukraine and Israel became much more active. There were reciprocal visits by high level delegations. The Ukrainian Embassy in Tel Aviv is scheduled to be officially opened, preparations are underway for the opening of the Israeli Embassy in Kiev. L. Kravchuk expressed his confidence that important interstate documents signed during his visit will lay a political and legal foundation for bilateral cooperation and open good prospects for building Ukrainian-Israeli relations on a qualitatively new level. The dinner took place in a warm and amicable atmosphere.

Population Polled on Kravchuk, CIS, Reforms

OW0801143393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1348 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The majority of the Ukrainian population "support President Leonid Kravchuk and pins their hopes on his determination." This was discovered during research conducted in early January by the National Institute for strategic research and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Sociology. Research was carried out in order to determine the public's attitude to the more pressing problems facing the Ukrainian state. The poll was conducted among 1197 people from all sociodemographic groups in all regions of Ukraine.

Over 82% of those polled said that an essential prerequisite to end the crisis in Ukraine "is the unity of the efforts of the people and the authorities." Sociologists conclude that President Kravchuk now has an adequate social basis for his policies.

Seventy eight percent of those polled support economic and political reforms in the country while only 28% feel that it is impossible to carry out reforms and that they would not be worthwhile anyway.

Researchers were surprised by the responses to the question: "Who most of all determines Ukraine's political and economic development?" The mafia came in first place with 46.9%, Kravchuk took second place with 40.5% of the votes, then the government with 31%,

politicians with 25%, parliament with 20.2%, former communist structures with 15.9%, the president's local representatives received 8.9%, Russia got 7.8%, local councils of peoples' deputies received 7.7%, developed western countries got 6.8% and social opinion and scholars received 4%. The media, alas, was in last place with 3.4%.

In response to the question "which foreign policy is the best for Ukraine?" 22.3% of those polled were in favor of "Ukraine's leaving the CIS and consequently conducting an independent policy." "Uniting the republics in the CIS into a single state" was supported by 20.9% of those polled.

"Leaving the CIS and creating a block of the Baltic countries, Belarus and Ukraine" was supported by 9.9%.

"A political union with Eastern European countries" was desired by 9%.

"Belonging to the CIS upon the current terms" was supported by 7.6%.

National Affairs

Democratic Renewal Party Wants Nuclear-Free Black Sea

LD1201112693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] A statement from the coordinating council of the Kiev organization of the Party of Democratic Renewal of Ukraine was made public on 11 January regarding the ratification of the START I treaty. Taking into account the provisions of the declaration on state sovereignty and international obligations taken upon ourselves, Ukraine should liquidate its nuclear missile potential, the statement says. However, conditions guaranteeing sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the completion of the nonnuclear status of Ukraine should be secured.

The statement mentions that all military forces which are not under its jurisdiction should be withdrawn from its territory. The Black Sea should become a nuclear-free zone with the guarantee that ships carrying nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants do not enter it. In the event of such guarantees not being granted, Ukraine should postpone for the future the realization of the provisions of the declaration on nonnuclear status, the statement says.

Navy Commander Interviewed on Development Program

WS1201133093 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 11 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by S. Balykov: "The Ukrainian Fleet: Look Into Tomorrow"]

[Text] "The Ukrainian Navy will have dozens of new ships and will number not more than 40,000 servicemen," said Rear Admiral Borys Kozhyn, Ukrainian Navy commander, in an interview to a NARODNA ARMIYA correspondent. "Right now the Ukrainian Navy's firstling, the flagship the Slavutych, is undergoing official testing, the guard ship the Hetman Sahaydachnyy is being prepared for its maiden voyage, and the construction of the landing craft the Zubr has been completed." In the nearest future, the Ukrainian Navy will be augmented by a missile cruiser, a few guard and supply ships, and a couple of subchasers. The program of the renovation of the diesel-electric submarine pool, naval auxiliaries, and aircraft has been launched.

In admiral's view, the Ukrainian Navy would have enough strength to protect the state's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The naval doctrine now being elaborated is based on the non-nuclear concept. The doctrine envisions that Ukraine would not strive for supremacy at sea, and in case of a military conflict would not use its Navy to launch a first strike. B. Kozhyn also said that Ukraine was going to confirm its fidelity to the existing international conventions on the "open sea" and military navigation's legal regime in the Black Sea and the straits zone. "The cooperation between the Ukrainian and the Russian Navies will be based on appropriate treaties, mutual respect, and equality," said the Ukrainian Navy commander.

The admiral said that Sevastopol would remain Ukraine's principal Naval base, while all the structures from Mariupol to Ismail would be used for ship docking.

Speaking on the issue of the heavy aircraft carrier the Varyag, the construction of which is 70 percent complete, B. Kozhyn stated that there existed three ways to solve it. Its construction could be completed by Ukraine or Russia, or it could be sold to a third country. The decision will be made in 2-3 months, because "technically irreversible processes are under way on the uncompleted ship."

Statistics Ministry Gives Figures on Small Enterprises

WS1101133193 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 9 Dec 92 p 3

[Unattributed report from the "Government Panorama" column: "The Riddles of Small Enterprises"]

[Text] The report issued by the Ukrainian Ministry of Statistics says that in early October, 83,400 small businesses were registered in the country. Of these, only 52 percent released their activity report over the first nine months of this year. Most companies, more than 10,000, operate in trade, catering, procurement, and service sectors. About 9,000 companies are engaged in the industrial and construction business. In the scientific field, 5,000 small business were registered. Noticeably, since the beginning of the year, the number of small businesses from non-productive and service sectors

increased 3.6-fold, which is twice the growth of the others. In all of the companies, the number of employees doubled to more than 637,000. The average monthly employee income equals 3,230 rubles [R] (in the state sector—R4,171). Of the R161 billion worth of goods produced and services rendered, small businesses actually sold one-fourth to the population. The service enterprises, including broker's agencies, accumulated a considerable amount of money as a result of mainly imports, rather than exports.

Deputy Supreme Council Chairman on Economy

WS1101133293 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 3 Dec 92 p 1

[Interview with Volodymyr Hrynyov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, by newspaper correspondent H. Pyvovarov: "This Is Not a Program, But a Set of Intentions"]

[Text] [Pyvovarov] The heated debates over the government's program, presented by the prime minister at the Supreme Council session, are still continuing. How do you assess this program?

[Hrynyov] Kuchma's report consisted of two parts: a deliberately harsh and blunt analysis of the current situation, and a package or set of intentions. I am quite critical about this kind of document, especially if it is a government program. I believe that we do not have a program and never did have one. A program must contain clearly defined basic directions for development and mechanisms for their implementation.

[Pyvovarov] Let me put the question this way then. Could you, Volodymyr Borysovych, tell us please if at least the anti-crisis measures proposed by the government are sufficient?

[Hrynyov] Not completely, I think. Because they do not deal with what concerns us most—the stimulation of production. Macroeconomic factors, that is a general basis for developing the economy, are known. But what the government does not propose is how to increase production, which is absolutely necessary, and to be more specific, what mechanisms should be activated, and in what succession, in order to achieve this. And this is exactly what the Cabinet should have dealt with in the first place if it wanted to pull the economy out of the vicious circle, described so well by Vice Prime Minister Pynzennyk, in which it found itself.

[Pyvovarov] So, what solution do you see for this situation?

[Hrynyov] Do you want to ask what program I have?

[Pyvovarov] Yes, one can also put it this way.

[Hrynyov] We need a versatile approach to saving the economy with clearly defined priorities and, what is most important, mechanisms to carry them out. As I said before, everyone in the former Soviet Union knows everything on a microeconomic level. But nothing comes out of it. Why? We should descend from the high economy to its lower parts. The "devil" is hiding in small things—in mechanisms of implementation. This is the main thing that must be closely considered with regard to the present situation.

[Pyvovarov] What do you mean exactly when you speak about macroeconomic factors?

[Hrynyov] Privatization and private ownership of land, financial stabilization, and restructuring. These are the three "anchors" that the good condition of our economy and ourselves can be based on in the future. They are closely interconnected, and you can deal with none of them in isolation from the others.

Let us take the issue of privatization, for example. I support its rapid introduction. We supposedly have a privatization program, and the relevant laws have been adopted. However, the mechanisms of implementation do not work. How can we start them? How can we set the terms that the current political and economic situation allows? How can we make people understand that the setback in privatization will generate immense tensions in the society?

The latter is extremely important and, at the same time, complicated. After all, we were all brought up in the socialist ideology and mentality that surprisingly enough, created a stable but impoverished society.

[Pyvovarov] You are expressing an unexpected and, in my opinion, paradoxical thought. Could you explain it in more comprehensible terms?

[Hrynyov] I think that there is no need to explain that for decades, we have been a society of the poor. Correct? And this means more or less equal living standards for all, which in turn, excluded any social cataclysms. Even splashes of protests against privileges for nomenklatura could never be considered serious, because those privileges were also for the poor, according to today's civilized standards. It was this top-to-toe poverty that ensured a certain stability in the society.

Today, a situation has developed that produces rich and very rich people. And they have already appeared: it is not a secret that we have our own billionaires. At the same time, the number of poor people has increased, and their living standards declined. There is a vast void between these two poles, inducing opposition and mutual rejection of these social strata, and especially animosity of the paupers toward the rich. This is an appalling situation the danger of which we do not yet fully realize.

[Pyvovarov] What is the solution?

[Hrynyov] The solution to the problem—and I do not see any other solutions—lies in molding a middle-class owner, the social class that would temper and block such an opposition.

Just see how long way we have gone by merely analyzing the necessity of a rapid privatization, whose strategy and tactics should be determined not only by the present political awareness of the society, but also by the social and political situation, vital to the transformation from a stable social society to a stable market-oriented society. If we miss this social and political point in our calculations, we will cripple reforms and once again force the people to step on the road to the unknown or even lead them astray.

What I have just said is only a small part of what we will have to figure out and foresee in order to determine mechanisms that will launch privatization.

[Pyvovarov] And no such mechanisms are visible in the government's plans, one should think?

[Hrynyov] Everyone sees what he wants. I will see these mechanisms when the whole package of problems, the sequence of their solution as well as clear, logical, and well-considered mechanisms for the solutions, are determined.

[Pyvovarov] And the last question, Volodymyr Borysovych, which has nothing to do with our conversation but still is of major concern. How do you assess the prime minister's statement about, to put it mildly, regulation of the political situation in the country?

[Hrynyov] I would like to regard it as a bad move, and not a part of his program. There is nothing more dangerous today than the governing circles trying to quash political high emotions and regulate political activities. Political activities and the political situation of the society are not regulated by administrative methods, but the logic of development of the society itself in the first place. That is why the best regulation of the economy is its stabilization. And any attempt to do so without the economy is a very dangerous and silly game.

New Higher Donbass Coal Prices May Not Be Enough

PM1101170193 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 9 Jan 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Video report from Donetsk Oblast by Gennadiy Kondaurov]

[Text] Coal in Ukraine is now being sold to consumers at three times the price it was last December. Suddenly the by-product coke sector is paying miners 18,000 rubles per tonne of raw material. Such is the result of the regulated price hikes declared by the Cabinet of Ministers in a bid to save the budget from complete bankruptcy. "External" reasons, so to speak, are the cause of all this—namely, the increased cost of oil products, timber, and other materials arriving from Russia. But obviously, even these new coal prices will not render all the mines profitable, and cover the enormous expenditure required for technical refurbishment in the very old mines of the Donbass. So the question of how much in subsidies to allocate to the coal industry is being discussed in the government. As for current wage levels, the miners are clearly dissatisfied with these too. Especially as a mere kilogram of sausage costs 1500 rubles now. We were told that basic earnings for people in this, the most difficult of professions, should be increased to 100,000 rubles.

Many see the only opportunity for increasing fuel extraction in Ukraine in a reinforcement of centralized management of the sector within the framework of state ownership. Here, however, at the Donbass' largest mine—named for Zasyadko—is the first in the Donbass to have entered the New Year not as a state enterprise, but as an association of leaseholding miners. Here, both engineers and workers can see that the extraction of coal could be a profitable affair. Having acquired the enterprise on a leasehold basis, they intend to buy it out in a few years' time and become full proprietors of the mine.

Komsomol Holds 'Renewed' Congress

LD1001201493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Text] The 28th congress of the Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] of Ukraine was held in the mining city of Donetsk. It was named the Renewed Congress. The congress was held on the initiative of the Donetsk and the Lvov Komsomol oblast committees. It gathered delegates from almost 20 oblasts of Ukraine, including workers, pupils, students, and office workers. According to ethnic composition 52 percent were Ukrainians, 45 percent Russians, and 3 percent were representatives of other nationalities. The congress discussed pressing problems of youth and adopted a statute and a policy statement: The ideal plus the cause.

The central committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine and the first secretary were voted in. (Vasyl Savin), first secretary of the Donetsk Komsomol oblast committee, became the first secretary.

Rukh Congress, Political Program Assessed

WS0801134693 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 8 Dec 92 pp 1, 3

[Article by T. Babych from the "Political Horizons" rubric: "By Saying Rukh We Mean Party"]

[Text] Speaking at the Fourth All-Ukrainian Congress of People's Rukh of Ukraine [NRU], Vyacheslav Chornovil called the past period "a year of lost hopes." Moreover, he blamed not only the presidential team, the legislature, and the government, but also the democratic forces, split since the presidential elections, for the current socioeconomic crisis. Due to this, "the sacred ideals of independence and democracy" have been usurped and discredited by "strangers."

I want to express my astonishment at the "modesty" of the leader of the most influential political force of the society. Why did he say "the ideals have been usurped?" During the three years of its existence (longer than any other active political party), Rukh managed to make its presence known not only at open-air rallies, but also in administration offices. Among the 540 delegates, one out of every three is a deputy, one out of seven—an economic manager, state administration official, or a representative of an executive committee. But first things first....

This congress resembled the previous one: the same almost historic lobby of the Polytechnic Institute, decorated by blue and yellow colors, a large number of guests (more than 1,100 for 540 delegates), the same enthusiasm at the sounds of the Cossack March, the unchanged "street support," this time in the form of a show meeting in the Nezalezhnist Square. Nevertheless, the Fourth Congress of the NRU, which took place in Kiev on 4-6 December, certainly did not stir the Republic's sociopolitical life.

The Congress managed to get rid of the "rally symptom," even the famous "hanba" [shame] sounded just once in three days. Under the chairmanship of V. Chornovil, it started constructive work. Even the usual resolutions, declarations, protests, and greetings were read out in a "by the way" fashion. The Congress' peak was "the State Creation Concept of Ukraine," announced to the public three months earlier.

Rukh presented a complex program for the creation of the new Ukrainian state rejecting the traditional accusations of its destructive policy, and "eternal contradictions." The program is intended to be put forward at the next election. The thoroughness of the document is proved by the participation in its elaboration of well-known economists, lawyers, and national revival specialists: V. Chernyak, O. Savchenko, S. Holovatyy, I. Zayets, L. Tanyuk. The concept of the program was presented to the delegates by V. Chernyak. The document consisted of five program chapters, aimed at answering one question: "What kind of state, economy, and society are we going to build, and how are we going to do it?"

According to this concept, in the nearest future Ukraine should become a national, democratic, legislative, and unitarian state with a parliamentary and presidential rule, under which the president is the head of the state, but not the head of executive bodies. Its material foundation would be based on a market economy, different forms of ownership, and a combination of market mechanisms and state regulation. Moreover, Ukraine's specific application of this type of economy envisions the refusal of shock therapy, and a complex approach to the reforms, which would help Ukraine gain three main goals: stability, privatization, and liberalization. An integral, and probably the principal, component of the state-construction concept is the program of Ukraine's national security in all its aspects: economy, ecology, foreign policy, informational, and military protection. This program envisions a number of legislative, political, and economic conditions for an efficient functioning of the state mechanism. It is interesting that the hottest emotions were stirred by the problem of Ukraine's military security and its possible neutral status.

As a rule, analyzing such programs is an inefficient exercise. Taught by bitter experience, we have had many chances to realize, that it is a long way from a published declaration to real life. There is such an abundance of this kind of document that V. Chernyak once joked that future historians would think that programs were the most popular literary genre of our times. The principal question is: "What are the goal and chances of the person who will dare to perform the task of implementating the reforms?" Here Rukh faces new problems, connected with the necessity of changing its charter.

The last day of the congress was its climax. According to the agenda, the delegates moved on to a discussion of the amendments and additions to the existing charter and program. By that time it became obvious that Rukh, in the form known to us for three years, was passing away; still, the regeneration process appeared to be painful for many people. V. Chornovil tried in vain to persuade the audience that things would remain unchanged, due to the first article of the charter, establishing the NRU as an independent, popular sociopolitical organization, "the umbrella" for all the advocates of independent Ukraine, like it was before. Everybody understood that every new amendment would change the political nature of the organization. For example, why, according to the new charter, can Rukh's members not participate in any political parties, and why can these parties, along with public organizations, not remain NRU's associated members? Because Rukh itself is now becoming a political party.

This obvious truth evoked dubious reactions. Delegates representing Ternopol, Zhytomir, Dnepropetrovsk, Volyn, and Sumy oblasts supported the amendment, explaining that a strong political party type organization was needed. In the speeches by some of Rukh's founders: V. Yavorivskyy, V. Brukhovetskyy, L. Tanyuk (not mentioning categorical opponents: M. Porovskyy, V. Chervoniy, and the Kharkov delegation leader V. Pasichnyk), one could feel nostalgia for the Rukh of 1989-1990.

If we put emotions aside, I, for one, would blame neither the Law of Ukraine "On Citizen Unions," demanding a clear-cut distinction between public and political organizations, nor the plans of V. Chornovil for this transformation. In the coming political contests, he prefers to create a well organized, efficient party, rather than an amorphous public organization.

But the spring of democracy, with its rally euphoria, splashes of hope, freedom's first breath, is over. It took away the large scale movement of its most eager advocates. The present day reality shows that Ukraine cannot be saved with slogans, rallies, and Cossack marches.

Today it needs, first of all, builders. Will the renewed Rukh be able to survive the crisis and yield such people?

It is a tough question, because along with objective conditions, there exist subjective ones. The triumvirate of chairmen introduced at the previous congress, intended to keep the organization from splitting, turned out to be ineffective. I. Drach unexpectedly expressed a wish to secede from Rukh, by leaving for Czecho-Slovakia a couple of days before the congress, along with M. Horyn, who together with the Ukrainian Republican Party found shelter in the Congress of National Democratic Forces. We should also mention unsteadiness within many regional organizations, due to which the Lvov delegation was banned from entering the assembly hall, while a group of Kharkov delegates left before the congress was over. Besides, Rukh's political opponents will not let it "live a quiet life."

V. Chornovil, elected Rukh's chairman, said at the news conference that he was not concerned by these factors: "We know where we are heading and have enough will to achieve our goal." Let us hope that the leader's assurance is shared by all those who have connected their lives with Rukh.

Opinion Poll Shows Green Party, Rukh Most Popular

LD0901223593 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Television Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] A sociological research poll taken by the National Institute of Strategic Research showed the Green Party of Ukraine enjoyed the support of 40 percent of the population of Ukraine, thus ranking first. Rukh with 25 percent of Ukrainians supporting it was next to the Green Party; third place was taken by the Democratic Party of Ukraine.

However, 25 percent of the population does not wish to participate in the next elections.

Belarus

Further on Shushkevich Official Visit to PRC

Interparliamentary Agreement Signed

LD1101225393 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Belarus will strengthen interparliamentary relations with China. The agreement on this was reached on 10 January at a meeting between Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus, and Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress. Stanislav Shushkevich, who is paying an official visit to the PRC, particularly stressed the great importance of such contacts for Belarus. The young state is interested in PRC legislation, and first of all in that part of it which is connected with the development of market relations and the creation of special economic zones, he noted.

Shushkevich on Developing Cooperation

LD1101194593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1932 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Spirin]

[Text] Beijing January 11 TASS—Belarus strives to develop cooperation with China in the sphere of the conversion of the military industry, Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus told a press conference during his official visit to China. A significant part of the Belarusian industry was military oriented, Shushkevich emphasised.

"We would not want to make saucepans on those production lines which were turning out unique equipment and sophisticated machinery for microelectronics," Shushkevich noted. As regards the cooperation in this field, it will have no military direction. "We can only have economic cooperation, the head of the Belarusian Parliament emphasised. Concrete proposals are already worked out, however it is still a commercial secret, he said.

During his visit Shushkevich met with head of the Chinese Parliament Wan Li, Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng and the secretary-general [as received] of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Jiang Zemin.

"Belarusians have deep feelings of friendship towards the Chinese people," Shushkevich said during his talks with the Chinese Communist Party leader. "Belarus wishes to develop friendly and mutually beneficial relations with China on the basis of the five principles of coexistence."

Bilateral Relations Document Signed

LD1201091393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0435 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Grigoriy Arslanov and Vladimir Fedoruk]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Jan—Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus, who has completed an official visit to the PRC, departed for home today.

The visit by the Belarusian leader to China was successful. He promoted more in-depth mutual understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries, Wan Li, chairman of the standing committee of the National Assembly, stated at the farewell ceremony. In his turn, the high-ranking Belarusian guest noted that there are extensive prospects for the development of relations between Belarus and China.

During Stanislav Shushkevich's stay in the PRC a number of Belarusian-Chinese documents were signed, the most important of which was the joint statement on the development of bilateral relations.

The leaders, parliaments, and governments of the two countries will hold regular political consultations in the interests of the development and strengthening of cooperation, as well as exchanging opinions on issues of mutual interest, the statement says. According to the document, both sides will also apply the necessary efforts to further expand and deepen long-term mutually beneficial relations in the political, economic, and other spheres of social life, they will grant each other most-favored nation status, and develop cooperation in the sphere of investments.

The Republic of Belarus, the statement stresses, recognizes the government of the PRC as the only lawful leader of the whole of China, and Taiwan as an integral part of the territory of China. The PRC, in its turn, supports the efforts of Belarus to defend its national independence and sovereignty.

During the five-day visit the Belarusian leader met and held talks with Wan Li, the head of the Chinese parliament; Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the the PRC; Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party; as well as Yang Shangkun, Chairman of the PRC.

Independent Newspaper Forecasts 1993 Economic Situation

WS0801133293 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1356 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] The first issue of the independent newspaper BELARUSSKIY PREDPRINIMATEL carries an unconsoling economic forecast and analysis. This year, small troubles in the economy will be linked with partial unemployment of about 400,000-500,000 people. This

means that one out of every 10-12 able-bodied persons can be unemployed. This illness will first of all affect unskilled young people and women. The newspaper thinks that this is a logical consequence of the transition to the market economy, structural changes in the economy, liquidation of ineffective and unprofitable production, and conversion of the "military complex;" neither the government nor private capital have any money for the latter.

The inflation rate will decrease slightly in Belarus, while still remaining high—500-600 percent a year. The average pay will grow by the same percentage, thus, there will be no considerable drop in the living standard of those people who have permanent jobs.

Nor will there be considerable business activity in 1993. First of all, this is due to high taxes necessary for the social support of the population and non-payments within the CIS, which will grow into a more threatening phenomenon. At best, the Gross National Product will remain on the level of the previous year, although it may decrease a little.

According to the forecast, inflation and the economic slide will not allow the stabilization of the money supply. The prices of foodstuffs will be increased more often than those of industrial goods. In general, BELARUSSKIY PREDPRINIMATEL considers that life will not become better in the country, although there is a hope for some glimmers of stabilization by the end of the year, unless politicians start any scuffle.

Draft of Government's 1993 Economic Program

OW1001150193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1350 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The recent session of the Belarussian Council of Ministers has considered a draft of the government's economic program for 1993. The cabinet determined the priority tasks for the near future, among them the development of market relations between producers, the normalization of the monetary circulation, and the introduction of certain measures to lower the dependence of the republic upon the suppliers-monopolists from other CIS countries.

According to INTERFAX, the Belarussian government plans to preserve the state regulation of prices in 1993. Nevertheless the experts predict a 3.6 fold growth. At the same time, it is expected that the rate of inflation will average between 8 to 10%, and not 25-30% as in the past. The Vice Premier Sergey Ling said that the wage in 1993 should be increased 3 times.

The budget for 1993 has not completely been considered. In particular, the council has not yet defined the volume of funds to be allocated for the liquidation of the Chernobyl aftermath. 139 billion rubles are supposed to be allocated from the state budget for the needs of Belarus agriculture and 3 billion rubles - for the conversion.

The Council of Ministers will probably be forced to introduce a 3% income tax for enterprises which they receive from the realization of goods and services according to free prices. These funds will be used to form a special state fund for social needs. The issues concerning mutual accounts between the CIS countries caused sharp debates. A message about cessation of monetary accounts between Belarus and Russia was voiced at the session. According to experts, this circumstance forces Belarus to introduce its own national currency.

Official Details Plans for Food Self-Reliance

OW1101215593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1740 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "To achieve the complete self-sufficiency of Belarus in foodstuffs is one of the most important immediate tasks of the government to which the premier assigns great significance". Aleksey Yanovich, the head of the department of agriculture of the Council of Ministers and one of the leaders of the consultants of the Cabinet on agrarian issues, said in an exclusive interview with a correspondent of "INTERFAX". He noted that to achieve this objective the efforts of the government are now concentrated on fulfilling three state programs: "Grains", "Sugar" and "Vegetable oil". According to Yanovich the annual grains requirement of Belarus amounts to about 10 million tons. At the present about 2 million tons of this cereals have been bought by the republic. About 8 million tons were cultivated this year by collective and state farms in Belarus. Yanovich thinks that by expanding cultivation fields and raising crop capacity, in about three years, Belarus can cultivate enough quantity of cereals to satisfy its internal needs.

In order to achieve self-sufficiency in sugar, a decision was adopted to construct a special factory in the republic. The sugar requirements of Belarus is about 400 thousand tons per annum. According to Yanovich, in the republic they have significantly increased the area under cultivation of sugar beet.

He announced that the republic's requirement of vegetable oil amounts to about 110 thousand tons per annum. Belarus according to him, independently produces only one-tenth of this quantity. The government plans to eliminate the shortage of vegetable oil by increasing the cultivation of rape. According to Yanovich's estimates, in about five years Belarus will be self-sufficient in sugar and vegetable oil.

He noted that the meat and milk branches of the agriculture of Belarus are one of the most developed in the CIS and are oriented not only toward internal needs but mainly for export. "Here the policy of the government will not be changed", Yanovich said. He ascertained that the sale of meat and milk products abroad is one of the heavy sources of income for Belarus.

A draft plan, worked out by the government, for the economic development of Belarus in 1993, envisages an allocation of state subsidy to agriculture to the tune of 139 billion rubles. Yanovich believes that significantly more money may be required since up till now the issue of new prices for electric energy supplies from Russia is vague. Preliminary estimates by experts of the cabinet were made on December 1992 prices.

Social Democrats Adopt Appeal Praising CIS

WS1101133793 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Russian No 234, 9 Dec 92 p 1

[Report attributed to BelaPAN: "Belarusian Social Democratic Assembly (BSDG) Does Justice to CIS"; under the "Fact" rubric]

[Text] The Central Council of the Belarusian Social Democratic Assembly [BSDG] adopted an appeal on the CIS anniversary.

The appeal says that the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States has become the only possible civilized way to dismantle the former empire. This dismantling determined both the empire's uncontrollable collapse and likely attempts to forcibly restore it. The establishment of the CIS allowed the termination of the indefinite status of the former USSR subjects who acquired a possibility for the free construction of the state and cooperation. The BSDG Central Council states that the insufficient effectiveness of the Commonwealth has been caused by objective circumstances—the USSR was composed of republics of very different levels of development. Thus, seeing the CIS as an important stabilizing factor in a considerable part of Eurasia, the Assembly considers the cooperation of Belarus with all states of the former USSR on a bilateral basis a priority.

Government Officials on Armed Forces' Oath

OW1201053793 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1955 GMT 10 Jan 93

[A. Zhuk report; from the "Utro" program—recorded]

[Text] [Zhuk] There has never been such a day in the history of Belarus. At the same hour and minute, at all garrisons, combined units and subunits, soldiers, officers and generals lined up in ceremonial formation to take the oath of allegiance to their people. They have been preparing for this event for a long time, because there were many problems with those officers who had returned, or were returning from the Western Group of Forces, knowing practically nothing about their own future. You see, they did not have Belarus citizenship. However, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic, it seems, has already learned to make well thought out decisions. All the officers presently serving in the Belarus Republic, even if they have no citizenship, can relax concerning their future.

Here, in the one of the halls of the ministry of defense, the leadership personnel of the Republic's defense department took their oath. The first to take it was Pavel Kozlovskiy, the minister of defense of the Republic. [video shows Kozlovskiy taking oath, then cuts to Zhuk interviewing Colonel General Pavel Kozlovskiy]

[Kozlovskiy] I consider that such an unhurried approach allowed us to arrive at this process calmly, painlessly and unemotionally, because we gave everyone an opportunity and the time to think, to determine where he would serve. As you can see everyone is taking the oath, 100 percent—no one is refusing it. With those who, after a time, decide to return to their historic homeland somewhere in Siberia, Ukraine, or Kazakhstan—we have such officers too—we will conclude a contract, and they will serve here without infringement on any of their rights, such as advancement in service or their military rank. Clearly, such an approach will not cause any kind of confrontation, or disturb the stability of the Republic and mutual relations with our other republics, like Russia, Ukraine, and others. Here too, we will not disturb any kind of an imbalance [as heard].

[Zhuk] The solemn ceremony here in the hall of the ministry of defense was opened by Stanislav Shushkevich, head of the parliament and chairman of the Republican Security Council of Belarus. [video cuts to Zhuk interviewing Shushkevich]

[Shushkevich] I have said that previously, here they took the oath to anything else—except to the people of Belarus. However, today our servicemen are swearing allegiance to the Belarusian people, and it seems to me that this event is outstanding, a solemn event. When I look at the faces of these servicemen, my spirits rise.

Moldova

Gagauz Militia Blocks Security, Army Buildings

AU1101205093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Bogdan Alexandru report from Chisinau]

[Text] Guard units belonging to the self-styled Gagauz Republic in the southern part of the Republic of Moldova today blocked access to the buildings of the Vulcanesti Rayon executive section of the National Security Ministry and of the Rayonal Military Commissariat.

The interim Vulcanesti Rayon police commissioner told the BASA PRESS AGENCY correspondent today that

no firearms were used and no casualties were reported during this incident. The police refused to comment on the reasons behind the blockade and seizure of the buildings.

One of the local Chisinau Radio reporters has learned from Moldovan First Deputy Interior Minister Boris Muravschi, who held talks with the Gagauz guard leaders, that the main goal of the action was to draw the Moldovan leadership's attention to the fact that the Gagauz issue continues to be acute, and to demand urgent solutions to that problem. The latest message received a few hours ago from the same reporter announced that the situation was returning to normal.

Protests 'Reunification'

LD1101172793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1656 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Chisinau January 11 TASS—A group of 50 armed people seized the building of the Regional Executive Committee and the Security Department in the Vulcanesti district of Moldova on Monday [11 January].

No casualties were reported.

ITAR-TASS learnt that the capture aimed to draw the attention of the Moldovan parliament to the problem of the Gagauz Republic and urge its response to the results of a meeting of representatives of the Moldovan intelligentsia on Saturday who called for a reunification of Moldova and Romania.

Snegur Cited on Damage of Dniester Conflict

PM1201111593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jan 93 p 1

[ITAR-TASS report by Viktor Angeli and Valeriy Demidetskiy: "Moldovan President: 'The People Are Unhappy With the Poor Living Standard and Unstable Social-Political Situation'"]

[Text] In an interview for the paper MOLODEZH MOLDOVY republic President Mircea Snegur, touching on the question of the civil war in the Dniester Region, again said that it has caused massive damage to the Moldovan economy.

That is why I have done my utmost to halt the bloody and senseless carnage, he said. The president stressed that there are forces in the Republic who want to fight to win. But these are people who have never participated in combat actions.

Snegur Reiterates Path to Independence 'Irreversible'

OW1101213893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1657 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, appearing last Sunday before the inhabitants of the Sholdaneshtsky region, stated that the present government of Moldova is establishing ties with the former republics of the Soviet Union and is continuing the process of European integration. He repeated that the country's path to complete independence is irreversible and that "our salvation lies in our very selves".

Parliament Vice Chairman Rejects Confederation Proposal

OW1101133693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1141 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The idea of a confederation is hopeless, senseless and unrealistic, vice-chairman of the Moldovan parliament Viktor Puskasu told Interfax on Monday [11 January], as he was commenting on Dniester's recent proposal.

On Sunday the OLVIYA-PRESS agency circulated the Dniester parliament's statement, which says that it favors the idea of a Moldovan confederation and urges the Moldovan parliament to consider this idea.

"This proposal is not new," said Viktor Puskasu. "They advanced it back in 1989. The idea of confederation was brought in on Russian bayonets and is still supported by Russian bayonets," he said.

"We are ready to discuss the status of the Dniester region," he went on to say. "However, a reasonable solution can only be found on the basis of the Constitution and international law," he said in conclusion.

Kazakhstan

State Control Over Precious Metals To Be Retained

OW1101213093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1436 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kazakhstan plans to preserve the state monopoly on the operations with precious metals and stones. The draft bill "On gold reserve and diamond fund" to be considered at the parliament's session scheduled for January 13, prohibits economic entities of all forms of ownership, commercial banks, and private individuals to conduct exchange and barter operations with precious valuables and to hand them over during mutual accounts with foreign partners.

Any activity connected with precious metals and stones must be licensed in Kazakhstan.

According to the resolution of the parliament or the president, part of the gold reserve can be deposited in foreign banks as a guarantee of international obligations and agreements. Taking into consideration the world prices, the republic's government determines the prices for the valuables handed over to the State treasury.

Kazakhstan's share in the total volume of gold extraction in the former USSR constituted about 7% - about 24 tons annually. The republic used only 0.4% of the all-Union expenditures of gold in its production and for private needs.

The Tselinograd mining-chemical complex in Stepnogorsk and lead-zinc complex in Ust-Kamenogorsk began the refining production of highly purified gold.

Report Outlines Progress Against Economic Crimes

OW1101215793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1741 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The campaign against economic crimes initiated by President Nursultan Nazarbayev continues after being put into effect by the law and order bodies. Several crimes were uncovered a few days ago by the National Security Committee (NSC).

IF [INTERFAX] Note: N. Nazarbayev signed at the end of last year a decree on increasing the responsibility of those officials and state departments concerned with the maintenance of discipline, public order and security. The decree pointed out that lack of control and organisation in efficient and dependable structures had taken on a "threatening character". The decree provided for harsh measures against officials who abused their positions and engaged in embezzlement.

Appearing on national television, the NSC's head Bulat Bayekenov announced that inspections of 32 banks had uncovered 26 false notices for a total sum of 8 billion rubles. 4 billion 400 million of these had found their way to the Chechen capital Groznyy and have been "lost".

IF Note: Around 40 billion rubles have been transferred from Russian banks to Chechenya, which has proclaimed its independence from the Russian Federation, with the aid of false documents.

The head of Kazakhstan's security division also related how at the end of last year an illegal attempt to export 62 rail cars containing high grade steel to China was foiled. The NSC also seized over one thousand tons of copper and around 140 tons of strategically important metals worth a combined sum of 100 million rubles.

The NSC has identified highly placed officials in the ministry for geology as having caused detriment to the republic by their activity and contributed to the illegal export of rare metals from the republic. Bayekenov said that the NSC had set up special working groups in view of this and in order to see that Nazarbayev's decree was carried out. These groups are currently looking into the legality and justification for the issue of export licenses by state bodies for raw and other materials from the republic. The activity of certain bodies belonging to state departments and commercial structures is also being monitored and instances of the illegal engagement by highly placed employees in commerce and private business ventures are being investigated.

IF Note: B. Bayekenov was born in 1942 in Guriev. He served in the Soviet Army and graduated from Karagandin State University. Since 1975 he worked for the state security bodies and was appointed head of the republic's State Security Committee (which since became the NSC) by the president in 1991.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev, Reporters Interviewed on Future, CIS

OW1201050793 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1955 GMT 10 Jan 93

[V. Fedorov video report; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Fedorov] The beginning of the year is a time for forecasts, and people look to the pronouncements of fortune tellers, astrologers, politicians and economists, however, we decided to turn to some well-known journalists from Kyrgyzstan. [video shows Fedorov interviewing Zamira Sadykova, editor of the newspaper RESPUBLIKA]

[Sadykova] The year 1993 promises us nothing, and those foreign investments of which so much was said among our hierarchy, I think, are also not reassuring.

[Fedorov] What about Russia, is there no hope there?

[Sadykova] Incidentally, Russia is one of the few states which renders direct assistance to Kyrgyzstan. I think the ties that exist, have existed in the past, and will continue to exist, and if we have any hope at all, it is in Russia.

[Fedorov] Could any other country take Russia's place in the life of Kyrgyzstan?

[Sadykova] Turkey has made a claim on this; however, from the sidelines it all appears a little comic, because the Turks have this feeling of "empire," which they are preparing to reinstate. [video cuts to show Fedorov interviewing Akbar Ryskulov, director of the KYRGYZ KABAR news agency]

[Ryskulov] Two hundred years ago our Kyrgyz ambassadors, having made a formidable journey, reached St. Petersburg. By making this journey, they also made their [word indistinct] expedition. We cannot separate ourselves, because we have historical roots set so deep that they should hold [word indistinct]. [video shows Fedorov interviewing Kabay Karabekov, chief of the presidential press service]

[Karabekov] Everyone has broken up into ethnic groups, and we have understood that nothing good comes from seeking enemies amongst ourselves, and that the color of the skin and the shape of the eyes is not the most important thing in life. Those people who have left Kyrgyzstan out of fear of having their human and civil rights infringed upon are now returning. This is a good sign, a good omen. [video cuts to show Fedorov interviewing President Askar Akayev]

[Fedorov] However, to conclude the topic, a question to Askar Akayev, the president of the Republic; a question about plans and hopes.

[Akayev] Vladimir Grigoriyevich you said it very well; the new year—plans and hopes. I think that for all citizens of our Commonwealth countries, the new year of 1993 is truly a year of hope. We placing huge hopes on this year. The CIS is enduring a difficult moment, a very difficult moment, and my sincere hope is that we, the heads of countries, the heads of the CIS states will nevertheless strengthen our mutual understanding. We will find a consensus, and we will certainly create a strong union on the basis of our Commonwealth. I am convinced that without a strong Commonwealth, without a strong union, and without mutual economic, political and moral support, we, the countries of the CIS, will not be able to extricate ourselves from the crisis in which we find ourselves. [end recording]

Equal Guarantees Granted to Residents, Foreigners

LD1001173293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1656 GMT 10 Jan 93

[By KYRGYZKABAR Albert Bogdanov for TASS]

[Text] Bishkek January 10 TASS—Kyrgyzstan has taken the first step towards creating a civil code in the republic.

Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev has signed a decree granting equal economic, legal and social welfare guarantees to the residents of the republic and foreign nationals.

The document said that the development and implementation of the policy of external labour migration is based on such principles as the inadmissibility of discrimination or any bans hampering the movement or employment of people. Such discrimination will be banned by the republican legislature which is now being brought in compliance with international law.

The Kyrgyz Parliament will have to ratify the convention of the international labour organisation and other documents.

The decree is the first such document in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Tajikistan

Government Troops Take Obigarm, Seize Weapons

LD1201055293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0538 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Sripnikov]

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Government troops withdraw weapons from armed opposition forces in the city of Obigarm, a spokesman at the headquarters of the 201st Division told ITAR-TASS by telephone on Tuesday [12 January] morning. Obigarm was taken on Monday during an offensive launched by government forces.

Government troops sustained no losses in manpower. Opposition forces conducted fire from small arms and grenade launchers.

Government troops are in control of bridges and thoroughfares in the region's west. It has become known from the same sources that government troops will soon launch an offensive in a direction east of Obigarm.

According to the data made available to ITAR-TASS by the National Security Committee, people, who sought refuge on the territory of Afghanistan, are returning to the Republic.

Troops Continue Against Insurgents

LD1201094893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0837 GMT 12 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe January 12 TASS—The government forces of Tajikistan are continuing their offensive on Pamir districts of the republic in order to localise the armed conflict and neutralise opposition units now entrenched there.

According to information released by the press centre of the Tajik National Security Committee and other military sources, government troops today reached the suburbs of the town of Obigarm, cutting it off from the rest of the country. In order to prevent further bloodshed, the insurgents were offered to lay down arms. At the same time, government troops are being pulled up to the town of Rogun, located a few kilometres away from Obigarm. The Rogun population, including many Russian-speaking inhabitants, are being used as hostages by the armed opposition.

Commenting on the actions of government forces, Tajik Interior Minister and Dushanbe Commandant Yakub Salimov told reporters that they were undertaken in reply to the refusal of opposition field commanders to stop resistance.

"We shall not allow them to commit outrages and to continue the fratricidal conflict," he said. At the same time, the minister bluntly denied rumours spread by the opposition that an ethnical massacre of compatriots was allegedly being conducted in Tajikistan with the permission of the government. He described them as "slander against the lawfully elected authorities of the republic". According to Salimov, the Tajik law enforcement bodies have learned about cases when peaceful civilians were put to death without trial or investigation by men from the so-called People's Front, regarded here as "enemies of the people". He said that additional investigation teams were set up under the Tajik Interior Ministry to search for their corpses and that the bandits would not escape punishment for their crimes.

Rakhmonov Addresses Republican Conference on War

LD1101135393 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Speech by Tajik Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmonov at a sociopolitical and economic conference in Dushanbe on 9 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] Members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and of the Council of Ministers, leaders of ministries, departments, oblast, city, and rayon executive committee chairmen, representatives from law and order bodies, public organizations, military units, border guard units, [words indistinct], staff of the republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, and representatives from the mass media were invited to participate in this conference. Most of those invited are present. Allow me to declare open this conference on the stabilization of the sociopolitical and economic situation in the republic. [passage omitted]

Even though it has not been long since a Supreme Soviet session was held in the flourishing city of Khodzhand, not all organizations and departments, and not all those in the rayons responsible for implementing decrees of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers have made efforts to implement these decrees. Most rayons remain indecisive to this day. [passage omitted]

In some areas the firing and fratricidal killing has not stopped. [passage omitted] Thus far, more than 20,000 people have been killed and more than tens of thousands of people are still missing.

Tajik radio and television have reported that the damage caused to our country by the fighting amounts to hundreds of billions of rubles, but these reports are meaningless because the actual figures are not known. The damage in Khatlon Oblast alone, or the destruction of bridges throughout the Republic, if we were so to calculate matters, would in themselves amount to billions.

The situation in our southern border areas may have improved, and the number of border violations may have been reduced, but some armed formations are still violating the borders of Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast and our southern border. Their main aim is to see that this fratricidal war continues.

As head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, I—indeed, all our people—ask why the representatives here present display such indifference to the well-being and tranquility of our people. [passage omitted]

Whether we are a leader for a single day, for one week, or for one month, or whether we are head of state, our aim today should be to ensure national security, peace, and tranquillity. [passage indistinct]

It is (?shocking) that the presidential palace, the government, and the Supreme Soviet should have become a toy in the hands of two groups. Is this not embarrassing? Law and order personnel are present here today. Is it not embarrassing? [passage indistinct] All the personnel from the law and order organs, all those sitting here, have received wages from the people and [words indistinct]. Why have we not guaranteed the tranquility and security of our people? Why do we not consider ourselves answerable to the people? Why do we flee from responsibility? This is wrong!

In our republic, 150,000 homes have been destroyed. Just think, 150,000 homes! We are not taking into account the state buildings destroyed and the friends killed. More than 15,000 homes have been plundered! And this is continuing! Where are the leaders of the rayons? Where are those responsible for internal affairs

in rayon offices? Where are the residents of the rayons? Where are the courts of the rayons? Where are peoples deputies of the rayons? Where are the [word indistinct]?

What else? Every person knows that during the Great Patriotic War all our fathers and mothers toiled all night and day, barefoot, and on empty stomachs, but at the same time they protected the people and state of Tajikistan, helped the economy, supported the Army and created [word indistinct] for us. Today, we have a war which was not even declared, but this undeclared civil war is being waged and is continuing! [passage omitted]

Today there are formations consisting of more than 100 persons, the armed formations led by Haji Akbar Turajonzoda—who was, if I am not mistaken, earlier considered by all of us to be the leader of our republic—are today ready to lay down their arms, but they are afraid of facing legal proceedings. I state that if they come over with their leaders, we will receive them and ensure that they do not face legal proceedings. [passage indistinct]

I do not understand why our writers, poets, and journalists do not let the world know about the fate and circumstances of more than 60,000 refugees who were forced to go to the other side, into our neighboring country Afghanistan. What made them do this? [passage omitted]

What is the situation? (?We do not need scholars or historians to tell us the answers.) Who are the supporters of the republic? This is a question about the leadership of Haji Akbar Turajonzoda, Mullah Muhammed Sharif Hematzoda, Dovlat Usmon, even Shodmon Yusuf and others. What became of the hope and wishes of the fathers and mothers who brought up their children to the age of 16 and 17 years? What became of them? They were told that if they do not come along, their food would not be considered clean in terms of their Islamic beliefs, and that they would not go to heaven. Can Haji Akbar [Turajonzoda] go to heaven? [passage indistinct]. Their heaven was here; they had several homes, 10 to 15 in the city itself. [passage omitted]

There are, God willing, more than 3 million of us Muslims. Every burial ceremony always includes a religious service. [passage indistinct]

Haji Akbar [Turajonzoda] is one of the major causes of all these events which have taken place in our republic. Haji Akbar Turajonzoda is still alive and is still active. In his article in [word indistinct] entitled How Did the War in Tajikistan Start and How Will It End? [preceding title in Russian], Shodmon Yusuf continues ridiculing us and our people. [passage indistinct].

The 201st division of the Russian Army are responsible for the destruction of hundreds of villages and thousands of peaceful residents. There will be no peace in Central Asia so long as this unit exists, and the war taking place in Tajikistan will engulf all of Central Asia. [passage indistinct]

Decree on Delegation for Afghanistan Talks

LD0901152393 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Decree of Presidium of Tajik Supreme Soviet—read by announcer]

[Text] Regarding the visit of the delegation of the Republic of Tajikistan to the Islamic State of Afghanistan to participate in talks on the question of the return of Tajik refugees who have taken refuge on the territory of Afghanistan, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan decrees:

I. The following persons will be included in the delegation from the Republic of Tajikistan:
Heading the delegation, Dostiyev Abdumajid Salimovich, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan;
Ainiyev Abdusatar Sadridinovich, worker of the Committee for National Security of the Republic of Tajikistan;
Aminzoda Zebo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan;
People's Deputy Afghanov (?Ahluddin);
Badrov Yuri Gennadovich, representative of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan;
Burhonov Bahodur Safoyvich, worker of the Paywand society [maintains contact with Tajiks living abroad];
(?Dinorshoyev Musa), head of the department of philosophy and law of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan;
People's Deputy Jaborov Kodirjon (?Takhorovich);
People's Deputy Zinatshoyev Ismatsho;
Labor Minister Zuhurov Shukurjon;
Mahkamov Farhod Hamroboyevich, worker of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan;
Mustafokulov Sherali, secretary of the department of Tajik TV;
Nasimov Azimkul, senior specialist of the committee of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan;
Deputy Foreign Minister Rahmatulloyev Yerkivich;
Sanginov Narzullo [name indistinct], representative of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan;
Sadruddinov Tulbat, pensioner from the Shartuzskiy rayon;
Salomov Abdulshukur, cameraman from Tajik TV;
Taghoyev Saidmurod, chairman of the committee of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan and peoples deputy of the Republic of Tajikistan;
Ubaidulloyev Mahmadsaid, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan.

II. The Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan should be instructed to take the necessary steps to provide the material and technical provisions for the work of the delegation of Tajikistan.

[Signed] Imamali Rakhmonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Refugees Begin To Return From Afghanistan

OW1001150393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1350 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the Russian frontier forces' headquarters told Interfax on Sunday [10 January] that not less than 50 thousand refugees moved to the Afghan territory since the beginning of hostilities between the warring groups in Tajikistan. Lately the process of refugees returning to their homeland becomes more vivid. For the time being this is not a mass process, nevertheless the frontier guards capture the returning refugees almost every day. For example, about 100 people were halted at the section of the Ishkashim frontier detachment at night on January 9. The frontier guards express fear that in the near future the flow of refugees might become uncontrollable, and "undesirable elements," weapons and drugs can be transported to the Tajik territory together with the refugees.

At present the first filtration point to receive the refugees returning from Afghanistan is being formed together with the authorities of the Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous province at the section of the Ishkashim detachment. Analogical points will probably be opened at the sections guarded by other frontier detachments as well.

Turkmenistan

Niyazov Backs Creation of Central Asian Union

LD1101135293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1315 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[Text] Ashgabat January 11 TASS—Turkmenistan believes the summit of former Soviet Central Asian states planned in Ashgabat in April should promote the creation of an OPEC- or ASEAN-type union which will cover, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

President of Turkmenistan Saparmurad Niyazov holds that, firstly, the summit should clarify the position of Turkmenistan which adheres to a peaceful policy on the basis of bilateral agreements and, secondly, determine future policy of the states which is to quickly react to new tendencies at the world and regional scales. Among such tendencies is the striving of Central Asian states towards economic cooperation which would result in an OPEC- or ASEAN-type union, the presidential press service told TASS on Monday explaining Niyazov's position.

The very notion of "Central Asia" (uniting five former Soviet Asian states) reflects the tendency although it is too early to speak about the birth of a new regional model. But the very fact of the emergence of the notion signals the movement of world politics towards consolidation, according to Niyazov.

The Ashgabat summit should be viewed as a step towards a new model in relations among sovereign states whose common past is both a brake and a stimulus for future all-round ties, according to the president.

However, Niyazov, who initiated the Ashgabat meeting, does not contrappose it to the CIS summit in Minsk. It would be dangerous and short-sighted to contrappose various political tendencies and paint them in national colours. It would be also dangerous to use ethnic, spiritual and religious similarities as a means of achieving the desired contacts, the press service explained.

Turkish State Minister Meets Officials in Ashgabat

TA1101193293 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] State Minister Ekrem Ceyhun has begun his contacts in Turkmenistan. Ceyhun met with Turkmen Deputy Prime Minister Orazgeldi Aydogdyev and Foreign Minister Khalykberdiy Atayev. During the meetings, Ceyhun declared that Turkey is ready to do its utmost for Turkmenistan's development. Atayev, in turn, remarked that Turkey's aid is very important especially for the next five years. Ceyhun will attend the ground-breaking ceremony of a mosque to be built by the Turkish Religious Affairs Directorate in Ashgabat tomorrow. The state minister will return to Turkey tomorrow night.

Uzbekistan

Government Unveils Program To Extend Agricultural Reform

LD0901181793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1639 GMT 9 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alfred Baranov]

[Text] Tashkent January 9 TASS—The Uzbek Government has unveiled an extensive programme designed to extend economic reforms in the republic's agriculture. The Cabinet of Ministers of the republic released on Saturday a resolution detailing measures for the gradual transformation of loss-making and unprofitable state-run farms (sovkhozes) into collective and other non-state forms of agricultural enterprises in 1993.

The government recommended that fixed assets and other property of sovkhozes should be transferred on gratis basis into the ownership of labour collectives, preserving the integrity of territories, lands of the farm and the existing specialisation of production. It urged to create every condition for organising lease-hold, cooperative, private, family and other types of farms on their basis, with the right of long-term ownership and use of land, free distribution of produce.

At the same time, the state will retain control over some sovkhozes, especially those engaged in seedgrowing, breeding and other important production for the republic.

According to the resolution, a joint-stock commercial bank will be set up to render financial assistance to the development of private enterprise and other forms of ownership in the village, which will mainly cater to private farmers and smallholders, leaseholders and cooperators, small-scale businesses and firms engaging in the processing of farm produce. The resolution provides for the extensive use of foreign investments. The state budget earmarks 1.5 billion roubles as a share of the bank's charter fund.

In order to provide higher incentives to producers of cotton, grain, livestock products, fruits and vegetables the resolution sets the state order on these products at a lower level and grants farms the right to sell most of its produce at free market prices.

Commercial Banks Not Allowed To Deal in Foreign Currency

LD0901145293 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1208 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] From a reliable source in the Central Bank of Uzbekistan it has become known that not a single one of the republic's commercial banks in the near future will obtain a general license to the right to work with foreign currency. The reason for this is the insufficiently high professional level of the staff and the weak technical foundation of these banks. Due to earlier gross errors and violations, the republic's Central Bank was forced to take over all cash transactions in foreign currency. This right is retained only by the National Bank of Foreign Economic Activity. In the near future it is planned to check on the work of this bank as well.

Armenia

Points of Peace Initiative With Azerbaijan Outlined

NC1101164893 Yerevan SNARK in English 1146 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] Yerevan, 11 Jan (SNARK)—SNARK managed to get a top-secret report, which formulates 6 points of the peace-bringing initiatives at the talks on Karabakh problem: "Armenia sees the war is useless, because it is without an end. Armenians do not hate Azeris and agree to live in peace with them. But considering the above, Armenia cannot sign a document determining Karabakh's belonging to Azerbaijan. Armenia agrees to make peace and begin negotiations without any preliminary terms and without any differences among Karabakh's and Armenia's representatives. Armenia is ready to provide any guarantees needed, except the changing the current situation created in Karabakh. Armenia proposes to recognize Karabakh as a territory without a status and to launch the negotiations on determining Karabakh's status."

Karabakh Committee Chairman on Direct Negotiations

NC1101202093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1830 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Text] In welcoming the peace-making efforts of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President George Bush to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, Robert Kocharyan, the chairman of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic State Defense Committee, said that this process can be productive only if the sides involved in the conflict are ready to enter into direct negotiations. The negotiating process can start only when Azerbaijan and other countries taking part in the Minsk conference on Nagorno-Karabakh recognize Karabakh as a side at the talks. The solution of the problem should be achieved through a dialogue between the Azerbaijani and Karabakh authorities. Kocharyan stressed that current conditions should be assessed impartially and that the failure to take them into account would render peace efforts unproductive. The deferment of this process would lead to major [word indistinct] losses on both sides.

Azerbaijan

Armenian Offensive in Fizuli Region Said Stopped

LD1101144893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1420 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By AZERTAJ correspondent Elchin Sardarov for TASS]

[Text] Baku January 11 TASS—Azeri forces succeeded to stop Armenian offensive in Fizuli region on Monday [11 January]. Fierce fighting was reported near the settlements of Yukhary, Veisalli and Gyzyl-Gaya where Armenians were forced to retreat suffering losses in personnel and materiel after a two-hour long combat, according to the Azerbaijani Defence Ministry.

Azeri forces also succeeded to free the strategically important village of Gyz-Gerbi near the Lachin corridor connecting Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia, according to the source.

Shelling of border settlements of Zangelan region continued on Monday, it added.

Parliament Speaker Notes Russian-U.S. Statement

OW1101065893 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Jan 93

[From the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] Isa Kamberov, the speaker of Azerbaijani parliament, while commenting on the joint statement by the Russian and U.S. presidents, told a KHABAR-SERVICE correspondent that the initiative for talks to regulate the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict was welcome news. According to Isa Kamberov, this statement gives hope for a speedy solution to the Karabakh conflict.

60 Azerbaijanis in Armenian Captivity

LD1101170693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1620 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Svetlana Krasnova]

[Text] Baku, 11 January (TASS)—Some 60 Azerbaijanis, considered to be missing without a trace in the course of the Karabakh conflict, are in Armenian captivity. This information has been obtained thanks to the efforts of members of the Baku Human Rights Group of the Azerbaijan National Committee of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly.

With the help of foreign colleagues of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, it has also proved possible to obtain information about 170 dead, whose fate was previously unknown. The AZERTAC correspondent was told by Arzu Abdullayeva, coordinator of the Azerbaijan National Committee of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, that the information on these people was only part of the information about more than 900 Azerbaijanis hitherto considered missing without a trace.

Changes in Baku's Military Doctrine Viewed

OW1201114893 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Video report by unidentified reporter; from the "Telefaks" newscast]

[Text] The problem of proportional development of the military component in relation to the economic and political ones, all of which determine the role and

position of a country and its integration, is not a theoretical one. This is especially so for Azerbaijan, which has recently acquired its independence and is being subjected to aggression.

[Begin unidentified reporter recording] The experience of the former Soviet Union in the 1970s has created a very distorted picture of the ability of military might to compensate for other influential components and to create a basis for a long-term strengthening of its position in the world. This lesson must be remembered. Military might never replaces economic and political means, and has very limited possibilities in today's foreign policy. Therefore, I think the building of a national armed force should proceed on the principle of defense sufficiency, which would be founded on the evaluation of the necessary amount of equipment and troops. This is certainly very important, but as historical experience shows no government or general staff from the beginning of this century on succeeded in correctly calculating the actual number of troops required, or in evaluating how military preparations fit into the political situation or influence it.

When considering military might, we should ask how much, what kind, and what for. The answer: it should not be more than the level necessary for the defense of Azerbaijan's vital interests, in accordance with the nature of real threats and economic ability; it should be flexible, mobile, with clearly defined priorities of development, and should be able to react rapidly to changing situations; and it should enable the country to closely participate in the process of world development and should support its foreign policy. These questions demand an immediate answer.

One of the great politicians of the previous century said the most unpleasant task was to make decisions, but the most dangerous was not to make them. Today Azerbaijan has created with its own hands a real chance for fundamental change for the better in every sphere, including the military one. This chance must be fully used. [end recording]

Gas Shortage Caused by Drop in Extraction, Imports

LD1201111793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Text] Starting today gas in Azerbaijan is only being supplied to residential houses, hospitals, and vital enterprises in Baku and major towns in the republic, the AZERTAC agency reports. The state company, Azergaz, told an agency correspondent that the gas shortage has been caused by a substantial drop in extraction of this fuel in Azerbaijan and also by a sharp fall in gas imports from Turkmenistan and Iran.

Prime Minister Meets Turkish Delegation, Minister

NC0901094993 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Jan 93

[Text] Prime Minister Rakhim Guseynov received a Turkish delegation headed by Agriculture Minister Necmeddin Cevheri today. He thanked the delegation on behalf of his government for the 1 million tons of grain Turkey has supplied to Azerbaijan. Meanwhile, Cevheri said that he was happy to have had the opportunity to visit Azerbaijan. He also said that he will do everything possible to strengthen the cooperation between the peoples of the two countries, particularly in the agricultural field. Turkish Ambassador to Azerbaijan Altan Karamanoglu attended the meeting.

The Turkish delegation later visited the martyrs' cemetery and laid roses on the graves.

Mohammadov Leaves Baku for 4-day Visit to Iran

LD0801172193 Tehran IRNA in English 1452 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Baku, Jan. 8, IRNA—Azerbaijan Vice-Premier Asgar Mohammadov left here for Tehran today on an official 4-day visit.

Mohammadov who is heading a ranking delegation on his way (on land) to Tehran via Astara border region will stop over in Rasht, Gilan Province, to meet with several provincial officials.

Earlier today a delegation from Gilan Province concluded a cooperation agreement with Azerbaijan in various economic, agricultural, trade, industrial, cultural and road building fields.

The agreement signed by Gilan Governor General 'Ali Akbar Taha'e and Mohammadov also terms the Iranian cities of Astara, Anzali and Rasht as brothers to the Azerbaijani cities of Astara, Lankaran and Baku respectively.

The two sides also agreed to establish an Iranian Consulate in Lankaran and an Azeri Consulate in Rasht, launch Rasht-Baku direct flight, set up common border markets in the Astara of Iran and of Azerbaijan, cooperate in agriculture sector and exchange goods.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Comments on Upcoming Visits, Ties

Comments on Iranian Relations

OW1101174993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1741 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze considers that his forthcoming visit to Iran will not cause any damage to Georgia's relations with the West. He said on national radio on Monday that he was sure that his visit would contribute to the re-birth of ties between Iran and the West and Caucasus. Shevardnadze was of the view that attempts to isolate Iran would, as in the past, provide no results, especially at the present. "Iran is a good neighbour with whom we have much in common," he pointed out.

The head of state also pointed out that he intended to visit Ukraine and Kazakhstan after his visit to Iran.

Regarding relations with Russia, Shevardnadze pointed out that negotiations between the two states were currently going through a "fairly active phase." He appealed to Georgians not to regard all contact with Russia with suspicion. "We are currently in the process of establishing new relations not only with Russia, but also with other nations. This process is to be stepped up considerably," he stressed.

In his capacity as chief in command of the armed forces, Shevardnadze expressed his gratitude to all who currently defended the interests of their native land. Stressing that the war with Abkhazia would not be an eternal affair, the head of state spoke of the intention shortly to define the prospects for achieving peace in the republic. He also drew attention to "certain military successes" by the Georgian army in the Ochamchir region of Abkhazia and close to Sukhumi.

Comments on Abkhazia, Russian Ties

LD1101181593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0639 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Interview with President Eduard Shevardnadze by unidentified announcer in Moscow and correspondent Nona Gongadze in Tbilisi; from the "Panorama" program—live]

[Text] [Gongadze] Good morning! It is Monday, time for the traditional radio link-up between Eduard Shevardnadze, the Georgian head of state and head of parliament, and the people of the republic. He is at the microphone now, and will kindly answer my questions as well as yours, so you will have the chance of talking to him on the air.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich, thank you for granting us an interview again. I should like to start with Abkhazia, because this is a subject of concern for Georgia, and indeed, for everyone who loves Georgia and wishes it all the best. I would not, I think, be wrong in sayng that because of these events in the west of the republic, our reputation has taken something of a knock. Although we think the opponents' arguments are not wholly justified, there are nevertheless some areas where they are trying to prove completely the opposite from what you say. In your radio interview just now, you said that it is necessary to end the war rapidly and fittingly. Furthermore, you voiced the idea that you would very soon be proposing a peaceful settlement for this problem. What did you have in mind here?

[Shevardnadze] Well, what I have in—I have said this many times, I have had occasion to say—that this war must not be a lengthy one and it must rapidly come to an end. I am sure that we will very soon find a common language with Abkhazia, and I of course do not exclude the active participation of Russia and the Russian Government in settling this conflict. But along with this, I am taking active measures to ensure that the Security Council should have a role; it has already taken one resolution and is now discussing, or rather will discuss, this issue a second time. I am trying to involve our neighbors in settling this conflict. We are conducting a dialogue with Turkey, with Armenia and Azerbaijan. I am now planning a trip to Iran round about 20 January; then I intend to talk to Iraqi leaders, too. So we are creating the prerequisites for trying to reach a final settlement of this conflict. I have said before that there are real opportunities for a peaceful settlement which are shaping up within the context of this option.

The situation does indeed remain very difficult. Nevertheless the logic of life dictates the necessity to look for peaceful ways of settlement. I think that the majority of our population do understand, so to speak, the irreversibility of this course, and that ways of peaceful settlement should be sought. By the way, in Sukhumi, for example, Abkhazians, Georgians, Russians, Armenians, Greeks, and all other people are cooperating wonderfully. A provisional government is operating there and I should like to stress that it is a provisional government. This shows that, nevertheless, common sense prevails and both Georgians and Abkhazians understand that they have lived there together and they will have to live there in the future and nobody can move them to a new planet. So I count on the best possible prospects.

[Announcer] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, the day before, you had a meeting with scientists, writers, and artists; such a long conversation. I am sure they did support you in your efforts. Maybe they expressed some interesting opinions.

[Gongadze] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, this council which has just been just set up is a very interesting council, correct? I think that yesterday's conversation concerned it.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, perhaps it was the first; the first such meeting. This is a council that operates under the head of state. On the one hand here we have representatives of various groups of the intelligentsia; on the other hand, representatives of different nations and nationalities who live in the republic. I mean representatives of the Russian intelligentsia, as well as the Armenian, Azerbaijanian, Greek, and Jewish intelligentsia, and so on. This is a very interesting council, you know, a very interesting council. I mean that precisely through this council we will solve many questions and painful

problems which were and are accumulating in interethnic relations in the conditions of our republic.

[Announcer] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, how do you assess relations between Russia and Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] They are not simple, so to speak. I think that there is a certain regularity, so to speak, and it is on the basis of this regularity that we should develop our relations of good-neighborliness and equal rights; the most friendly relations. We are entering a very active stage now. You know, a major treaty is currently being prepared, the treaty on the status of the Russian Army and the time-scale of its stay in Georgia. Another agreement is also in the pipeline, or to be more precise, its outlines have been worked out. This concerns economic and trade relations between Russia and Georgia. Some agreements on the ruble zone have also been signed which state that we are to remain in this zone for the time being at least and that we will cooperate with Russia.

There are many other things, too. You know, we cannot just ignore what has been happening between Russia and Georgia over the past (?few centuries). Relations were built between people, families, towns, oblasts, republics, and so on and so forth. Moreover, we cannot live without northern Caucasus. We must build new relations with all the peoples and republics. In spite of all that is negative in our relations and some developments which complicate our life, my view is that we must work—work hard—to build completely and qualitatively new relations between the two states.

[Announcer] I thank the head of the Georgian state Eduard Shevardnadze for taking part in the Mayak "Panorama."

Previews Iran Visit

LD1201123293 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 2129 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Eduard Shevardnadze, parliament chairman and head of state, began his traditional address to [Tbilisi Radio] listeners today by assessing the work of the supreme legislative body of authority. [passage omitted]

As in all his previous interviews Shevardnadze dealt with the situation in Abkhazia. He expressed his gratitude to all who are defending the interests of the homeland, whether they are in the military command, representatives of the authorities, officers or simple soldiers. He expressed his condolences to families who have lost relatives and loved ones in this bloody war.

Shevardnadze stressed again that this war must not last long. It must be ended. As for the subsequent period, he believes that after the war is over in Abkhazia a long period of stability in life and work will begin in our country. This period must be used to ensure that Georgia becomes a truly united, strong, democratic country.

Answering a correspondent's question about his forthcoming visit to Iran, Shevardnadze noted that this visit to Iran, which is a buttress of Islamic fundamentalism, will not complicate our relations with the West. Moreover, it will be a kind of connecting link.

Historically our peoples, the head of state said, have a lot in common and we must use everything positive from the experience of these relations to build our ties with Iran and other neighboring countries on a new basis.

Shevardnadze also noted that (?in forming) these new relations with various countries of the world we must be careful in our attitude to our previous ties and must renew some of them. In no way does that create threats to our national independence.

The head of state noted that at present talks between Russia and Georgia are in a very energetic period. Shevardnadze asked listeners not to be suspicious of what is going on in our relations with Russia.

In addition to Iran, the head of state is planning to visit Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and other countries in the very near future to strengthen ties with them and settle several topical matters, particularly in the sphere of credit policy and Georgia's position on the ruble zone. "This is a most important problem because if Georgia leaves the ruble zone the consequences will be most serious since our country is not yet ready to have its own currency, and that is not simply because our own money has not been printed yet. It could be printed in a month. The problem is a different one." In Shevardnadze's opinion parliament must give serious thought to this.

Troops Kill 3 Abkhazians in Galskiy Rayon

LD1101153093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1450 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengis Pachkoriya]

[Text] Sukhumi, 11 Jan—The staff of the Georgian military command in Sukhumi informed journalists that at around 1900 this morning a 14-strong Abkhaz diversionist group penetrated the territory of Abkhazia's Galskiy Rayon. Their appearance on horses was due, in all likelihood, to the fact that roads were closed due to the heavy snowfall which is continuing to lie in the populated areas of Galskiy and other rayons of Abkahzia.

Subunits of Georgian troops discovered this Abkhaz diversionist group and surrounded it. During the exchanges of fire three Abkhaz fighters were killed and the remaining 11 were taken prisoner. The attempted diversion was thwarted.

Since 1100 this morning things have been relatively calm near the Gumista River. At around 1100 the Abkhaz side opened artillery fire on the Georgian positions. The return fire of the Georgian troops forced the opposing side to cease shooting.

Estonia

Russian Adviser Visits; Discusses Ethnic Problems

WS1101131893 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0951 GMT 11 Jan 92

[From 9, 11 January POSTIMEES, p.1]

[Text] Monday, January 11—Aleksandr Yakovlev, former advisor to President Mikhail Gorbachev and current advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin visited Tartu last weekend at the invitation of the Tartu University. He met University rector Juri Karner, Mayor of Tartu Ants Veetousme and the University historians. The meeting with the mayor concerned mostly Russian-Estonian relations. Yakovlev held a lecture on Russian-Estonian relations at the University History Museum. In an interview to the POSTIMEES Yakovlev announced that the aims of his visit included first-hand information on ethnic problems in Estonia. He was surprised at the complaints concerning the language requirements and expressed his conviction that the claims of oppression of the non-Estonian population are an exaggeration. Yakovlev visited Tallinn on Sunday [10 January], meeting ex-premier Edgar Savisaar and President Lennart Meri. He left for Moscow Sunday evening.

Russian Army Installations Turned Over to Tallin

OW1101192293 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1903 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 53 out of the 505 Russian Army military installations on the territory of the Estonian Republic which formerly belonged to the USSR Defense Ministry have been transferred to the Estonian side, the Estonian Defense Minister Hain Rebas, reported to the Estonian State Assembly on Monday.

In the words of the defense minister, the Estonian authorities possess accurate information, regarding the location and value of all the Russian Army military installations on the territory of the republic. The Estonian Defense Ministry and the HQs of the Estonian defense forces, however, are not capable of exercising efficient control over the condition of the Russian military inventory due to their limited resources and some other reasons, he said.

"If we had insisted that Russia transfer to us all of its military gear on the territory of the republic, as was envisaged by the resolution of the Estonian Supreme Council of January 23, 1992, the pullout the Russian troops would certainly be procrastinated. Therefore, the Estonian Defense Ministry permitted the Russian troops to evacuate all of their movable property from the territory of the republic," Mr Rebas said.

State Company Takes Over Military Airfields

WS1101131493 Tallinn BNS in English 1834 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Text] Tallinn, Jan 09, BNS—The state enterprise Estonian Airports has taken over a formerly Russian-controlled military airfield at Parnu and has started the takeover of another at Amari near Tallinn, Tonu Mardo, general manager of the company, told BNS.

Mardo said the significance of the Parnu airfield was going to rise as the town would gain popularity as a sea resort. Tens of planes have landed there already since the takeover of the base by Estonia from the Russian military last autumn, he added.

Amari has good prospects as a landing place for transport planes, as it is situated near both Paldiski and Tallinn. When the Russian military will leave the naval base at Paldiski, its deep and ice-free port in combination with Amari airfield has all the chances to become an important link in the East-West trade.

The air bases at Amari and Parnu mainly held fighter planes.

The ex-Soviet air base at Tapa will belong to Estonia's defence forces. Neither has Estonian Airports any interest in the country's largest airfield, located outside the second-largest town Tartu. The Tartu air base, built for strategic bombers, is now under takeover by the defence forces but its future still remains open. There are no feasible schemes for larger goods transports via Tartu which could cover the huge maintenance costs of an airfield of that size.

Iraqi Kurds To Be 'Deported' This Week

OW1101144793 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1144 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The 109 Kurdish refugees from Iraq, who illegally arrived from Russia late last year, will apparently be deported from Estonia this week, Estonian Border Protection Department official Aare Evisalu told BALTFAX.

Russian and Estonian experts decided in Pskov on January 6, that the Kurdish refugee problem should be handled by so-called "border commissioners" appointed by the border guard services of both countries.

Evisalu said the Kurds who have arrived from Russia and who possess identity documents will be deported, but he did not know what will be done to the Kurds having no papers on them.

According to Evisalu, attempts are still being made to enter Estonia on forged documents. Fourteen Chinese were stopped on the border this week for showing false U.S. passports. "The forgery was very skillful, we had never seen anything like that before," Evisalu said.

On January 6, 13 Lebanese showed counterfeit papers in Narva and were sent back to Russia.

Every day at least one or two foreigners attempts to enter Estonia on forged papers, Evisalu said.

Poll Shows Dissatisfaction With Leaders

OW1101224293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1744 GMT 11 Jan 93

[By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Never before in the recent four years the credibility of the Estonian powers-that-be was as low as last December. This opinion was formed by the EMOR, Estonian public opinion studies service, on the basis of the results of their survey which they revealed this Monday [11 January].

31 percent of the respondents are dissatisfied with the performance of President Lennart Meri and 35 percent disapprove of the activities of Prime Minister Mart Laar. The Estonian No.1 figures in the state are losing their popularity mainly among the Estonian population, the sociologists say.

54 percent of the respondents voiced their negative opinion of the performance of the republic's State Assembly, with only 25 percent approving of it. These figures in regards to the Estonian government were, respectively, 50 and 29 percent.

EMOR is attributing one of the main reasons for the drop of popularity of the Estonian state power bodies to the continuing differentiation of the Estonian population on the basis of ownership and their political stratification after Estonia gained its independence. Most of the respondents are dissatisfied with the fact that they still cannot see any tangible results of the activities of the new power bodies. The personality factor, too, has a major role to play: many people are dissatisfied with low professionalism of the incumbent politicians.

Latvia

Next Round of Moscow Talks Set for 18-21 Jan

OW1101192093 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1903 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affaris] special envoy Sergey Zotov, who is heading the Russian delegation at the talks with Latvia, informed BALTFAX that the next round talks of the Russian and Latvian state delegations will be held in Riga on January 18-21.

Godmanis, IMF Representative Discuss Economy

WS1101131093 Tallinn BNS in English 2142 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] RIGA, Jan 08, BNS—Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis of Latvia and the permanent representative of the International Monetary Fund to Latvia Esther Suss discussed Latvian performance of the IMF recommendations and the country's general financial standing at a meeting on Friday [8 January].

Suss acquainted Godmanis with the program of an anticipated visit of the IMF experts to Latvia next week.

According to her, the experts are scheduled to meet with the prime minister, government officials and industrialists on Jan 15.

Border Guards Disarm Kyrgyz Ministry Employees

OW1101224593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1726 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On January 11 the Latvian frontier guards captured four armed employees of the Kyrgyz Interior Ministry who were going by train Moscow-Riga. The detainees explained that they headed for the city of Jelgava to the RAF [expansion unknown] factory to receive a microbus "Latvia." Due to the fact that they had not coordinated their arrival with the Latvian Interior Ministry the frontier guards confiscated the weapons they had. At present the employees of the Kyrgyz Interior Ministry are staying in a hotel in Jelgava, the confiscated weapons (3 submachine guns and 630 cartridges) will be returned to them on their departure from Latvia.

Minister of Economic Reform Dismissed

LD1201105793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1000 GMT 12 Jan 93

[Excerpts] At the morning plenary session of the Supreme Council today a resolution on the election of people's judges of some rayons and towns of the Republic of Latvia was adopted. [passage omitted].

Moreover, the Supreme Council today released Arnis Kalnins from his position as minister of economic reforms and annulled the deputy's mandate of Janis Dzintars. This deputy is one of the 20 deputies who have not regarded it necessary to attend work during the fifth session.

After that the deputies began discussing the draft law on the Freedom Monument and the Brethren's Cemetery of Riga. After a break the examination of this question will continue.

Lithuania

Lubys, Polish Prime Minister Sign Friendship Treaty

WS1101130193 Tallin BNS in English 1558 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Vilnius, 8 January 1993 (BNS)—Lithuanian-Polish talks are to start soon to draft a treat on good neighborhood and friendship between the two countries. This is said in the joint communique, signed at the end of the working meeting held in the Polish town of Wigry on the border with Lithuania in the evening on Thursday [7 January] between the Lithuanian Prime Minister Bronislovas Lubys and his Polish opposite number, Mrs. Hanna Suchocka.

The Premiers focussed on economic cooperation and agreed that a joint commission would be formed within the next ten days to pave the way for the creation of a free trade zone. Joint projects were mapped out on the basis of international cooperation in shipbuilding, aircraft construction, and other industries.

Mr. Lubys told newsmen after the meeting that the sides had also discussed the possibility of laying a gas pipe-line and a power transmission-line from Western Europe to Lithuania via Poland. In his words, "mutual understanding was reached in principle" on these matters.

He also revealed that progress had been reached in negotiations on cultural cooperation and on the problems of ethnic minorities in both states. Lubys handed to Suchocka an invitation to visit Lithuania.

Answering journalists questions after the talks, the Polish Prime Minister replied that her visit could take place already within the first six months of 1993 and "important ' bilateral treaties could be signed.

Comment on Talks

WS1101130593 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1627 GMT 8 Jan 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 160]

[Text] 8 January 1993—The talks between Hanna Suchocka and Bronislovas Lubys began late last night in an ancient monastery on the coast of the lake Wigry, not far from the north-eastern Polish town Suwalki with the participation of the Lithuanian Ambassador to Poland Dainius Junevicius and the Polish Ambassador to Lithuania Jan Widacki as well as a number of officials from the Lithuanian and Polish Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Transportation. The numerous journalists and reporters at the scene characterized the talks as a thaw in the Lithuanian-Polish relations taking place in the midst of winter. After the talks the Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka told the journalists:

"The meeting is taking place on the eve of the first anniversary of the Lithuanian-Polish Declaration. That is why it has been agreed that next week the sides will exchange their texts of the interstate draft treaty to have it signed as soon as possible. During the conversation we focused our attention on economic issues, particularly on the economic cooperation between Lithuania and Poland. The discussion also included problems of energetics. Taking into consideration the hardship experienced by Lithuania in this field, Poland has decided to grant it two thousand tons of furnace fuel. It has also been agreed to set up a working committee engaged in the preparation for establishing a free-trade zone, already agreed upon by Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary. We have also envisaged to intensify our cooperation in the field of transportation by increasing the efficiency of the border crossing".

The Lithuanian Premier Bronislovas Lubys summed up the talks as follows: "I am pleased with tonight's meeting and I think that such meetings should take place alternately in Lithuania and Poland every half year. I am happy to note that there are no cardinal contradictions between us and we have made a significant progress. It is very important for us to find the best ways for obtaining natural gas from Western Europe and transmitting electrical energy from Lithuania to the West".

The Prime Minister also discussed the problems of Poles in Lithuania and those of Lithuanians in Poland. The Lithuanian Premier invited the Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to come on a visit to Lithuania and the invitation was accepted with pleasure and gratitude. The meeting concluded with a communique.

After the talks the Lithuanian Prime Minister visited the town of Seinai where he met leaders of the local Lithuanian organizations, answered their questions and took note of their wishes.

It was past midnight when the Lithuanian delegation crossed the Polish-Lithuanian border on its way back to Vilnius.

Polish Border Checkpoint Reportedly Busier

OW1101144393 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1144 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Lithuanian Customs Department, last year 432,094 motor vehicles passed through the Lazdijai-Ogrodniki checkpoint on the Lithuanian-Polish border, which is 122% higher than the 1991 figure.

Traffic was particularly heavy last summer. Thus, in June and August, 131,561 vehicles passed through the checkpoint, or five times last year's figure.

Lithuanian traders usually take cigarettes, pure alcohol, and nonferrous metals to Poland.

Lubys, Turkish Envoy Discuss Economic Cooperation

WS0801130493 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1438 GMT 7 Jan 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 159]

[Text] 7 January 1993—Yesterday at his meeting with Prime Minister Bronislovas Lubys, the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey Erkan Gezer pointed out the possibility for mutually beneficial cooperation between Lithuania and Turkey which constitutes a bridge between Europe and Asia.

The ambassador informed the Premier about the draft treaty based on the 1930 treaty of friendship and cooperation between Lithuania and Turkey he had already handed in to the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry for consideration.

H. E. Erkan Gezer also spoke about the envisaged visit to Lithuania by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey during which the new treaty might be signed. He also reminded that draft treaties on stimulating and securing Turkish investments in Lithuania and on cancellation of double taxation in trade. The conclusion of these treaties would provide a good basis for extension of the mutually useful economic cooperation.

He also stressed the need for signing a visa-free travelling agreement, a draft of which had also been presented to the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry along with a draft treaty on consular convention and reciprocal juridical aid.

In the ambassador's opinion, Lithuania should attract elderly tourists from Turkey and an agreement on cooperation in this field might be signed during a planned visit of the Turkish Tourism Minister to Lithuania.

Approving of these businesslike proposals, Prime Minister Lubys in turn made some proposals aimed at attracting Turkish investments in the Lithuanian textile, sewing and other branches of industry. Ambassador Erkon Gezer proposed setting up a bilateral business council, noting that such common structures of bilateral cooperation carry on effective activities in many foreign countries and regretting that the proposals of Turkey on this issue to the former Ministry of International Economic Relations of Lithuania have been so far left without response.

Estonian Envoy Seeks Forming New Relations

OW0801184793 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1725 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After a period of revived relations during the joint fight for independence, activity between Estonia and Lithuania has slowed somewhat.

"The time of common political actions and declarations has passed, but the period of active and specific cooperation remains in the future," said Estonian ambassador to Lithuania, Valva Strikaitiene.

This fact is especially apparent in the economy, which the ambassador sees as a top priority in Estonian-Lithuanian relations.

"Old relations from the time of socialism have broken down, while new ones are only being made with difficulty," Strikaitiene said.

As a result, in the third quarter of last year, Estonian exports to Lithuania dropped (as compared to the first quarter) from 1.89% to 1.26% of total Estonian exports, while imports from Lithuania fell from 5.44% to 3.36%. The ambassador sees one reason for this in that once both countries became independent, they started to actively look for access to the western market, forgetting in the meantime about traditional neighboring partners.

"We should recognize that for now there is no way to get access to the world market, and a solution to the problem could be found in active economic cooperation between the Baltic states," Strikaitiene said.

Foreign Minister Says No Plan To Close Embassies

OW1101173893 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1725 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a briefing on Monday [11 January] Polivas Gylys, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, refuted the statement of the newspaper "LIETIVOS AIDAS" citing that the new leadership of the republic's Foreign Ministry "intends to close the Lithuanian Embassies." The Minister declared that the ministry had no such plans. In Gylys' words, the newspaper used several "technical" decision of the Foreign Ministry in order "to arouse noise." In particular, Gylys said that the statement of the newspaper was caused by the decision of the Foreign ministry about the wage which was adopted without any consideration that several Lithuanian Embassies in the West, in particular the Lithuanian Embassy to the United States, receive funds not from the budget. He pointed out that the amendments to this decision were discussed at the meeting with the Lithuanian Ambassador to Washington, Stasys Lozoraitis.

Gylys believes that another premise for this statement could be the decision of the Foreign Ministry not to send 8 people to guard the Lithuanian Embassies to Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, the United States, Poland, France, Sweden, and Germany. Gylys placed the responsibility on himself as he believes that there are not enough funds in the Lithuanian budget.

Gylys also reported that the Lithuanian Ambassador to Moscow will be appointed next week.

Landsbergis on Gylys' NEW YORK TIMES Interview

WS1101130793 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1627 GMT 8 Jan 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 160]

[Text] 8 January 1993—Leader of the Opposition Vytautas Landsbergis made a statement regarding the "New York Times" January 3 publication of an interview with the Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Bylys and said the publication contained a number of grossly inaccurate allegations. Since the restoration of its independence in March 1990, Lithuania has always had its state representatives in Moscow and Tallinn, however it had to ask and wait for a long time until Russia appointed its Ambassador to Lithuania. Agreements on visas and customs were concluded with Latvia and Estonia much earlier as a step towards the common market of the Baltic States on the initiative of Lithuania.

V. Landsbergis maintains that in his talks with Chairman of the Supreme Council of Belarus S. Shushkevich numerous decisions had been taken to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries but these attempts were blocked by the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Belarus. It is a positive sign that now the Belarus Foreign Ministry has already made up its mind or was granted permission to set up relations with Lithuania. We have our representative in the Ukraine too but we have no Ukrainian representative in Lithuania. That is why the allegations that Lithuania has been to blame for the "cold" relations with its eastern neighbours are improper and misleading.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs is evidently badly informed about the foreign policy of Lithuania therefore his remarks sound like a local propaganda on the eve of the presidential election and misinform the "New York Times" readers. Meanwhile the assertion of the "New York Times" that Lithuania had been an ordinary part of the USSR and owing to that Russia's break of oil trade with Lithuania in the middle of 1992 was brought about by Lithuania's nationalist policy turns back the clock to the period of Gorbachev's cold was propaganda against Lithuania, V. Landsbergis added. This standpoint of the "New York Times" is miserably backed up by the Lithuanian Foreign Minister P. Gylys' misleading allegation that recently any opponent to the official state policy was treated as an enemy to Lithuania. In reality, similar allegations tell the truth of the communists' persecution of dissidents whereas the principles of democracy were regenerated with the restoration of the Lithuanian statehood on 11 March 1990.

Foreign Minister To Sign Pact on Chemical Weapons

OW1101174193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1726 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [11 January] the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, Povilas Gylys, will depart for Paris to sign the international convention on nonproliferation of chemical weapons.

At a briefing in the Seimas on January 11 the minister reported that during his first official tour to the West he will visit the Lithuanian Embassies to France and Great Britain to get acquainted with their work.

Vagnorius on Decrease in Provisional Money Value

AU0801132093 Tallinn BNS in English 2014 GMT 7 Jan 93

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 07, BNS—The exchange value of Lithuanian Provisional Money (LPM) has decreased by 50 per cent compared to the US dollar during the period between October 30 and December 30 last year, former Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius said at a news briefing in the parliament Wednesday [6 January].

According to Vagnorius, the rate of LPM devaluation was 0.2 per cent each day before the first meeting of the Seimas, 0.4 per cent before creation of the new government and more than 2 percent at the end of December. The speed of devaluation now increased 10 times, Vagnorius said.

The opposition demands to oblige the parliamentary committees of economics, Budget and Finance to analyze the situation constantly and to present results in parliament each week.

Vagnorius expressed protest regarding and unanswered inquiry on the problem of money devaluation, presented to Prime Minister Bronislovas Lubys Monday. Vagnorius sharply criticized the "unlawful 6 billion emission of LPM". According to him, the purpose of this step is extremely vague. The ex-premier says that this is a rude violation of the Constitution, since neither the Bank of Lithuania nor the government have the right to do this. Vagnorius said that if exhaustive explanation is not presented soon, an interpellation will be expressed to the Bank of Lithuania.

Vagnorius also presented his scheme, which shows that since the summer of 1992 the income of Lithuanian people was constantly falling, in Estonia—increasing, in Latvia—stable and even a slight increase.

Government Protecting State-Owned Businesses

OW0901160193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1514 GMT 9 Jan 93

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the newspaper RESPUBLIKA, the President of the Association of Lithuanian Entrepreneurs Juozas Sarkus said the entrepreneurs had

no doubt the country's new government was meaning to do away with private property.

The first moves by the new government showed the government was safeguarding the interests of state-owned, and not private, businesses, and, said Sarkus, criminals were enjoying full freedom of action in Lithuania so that entrepreneurs were left to their own devices in their attempts to protect their investment. Juozas Sarkus cited the government's ban on the re-export of non-ferrous metals to prove that instead of protecting it, Lithuanian law occasonally lashed out against private enterprise.

The government kept ignoring what entrepreneurs had to say, said Sarkus, and rejected alternative programs.

The entrepreneurs felt that, to pull out of the current deadlock, Lithuania must revise its taxation policies, square payments with its partners in the East and, most important, strengthen its private sector.

Government Not To Introduce Food Rationing in Jan

WS1101130093 Tallinn BNS in English 1411 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] Vilnius, Jan 08, BNS—The Lithuanian Government decided not to introduce a rationing system for certain food products, starting January 1993, as was planned earlier.

BNS reporter was told at the Ministry of Industry and Trade that there is no need to introduce rationing system since the current state food reserves are sufficient enough.

Rationing may be introduced in February or March in case price changes or difficulties in food reserves occur.

A rationing system for certain food products was introduced during the economic blockade by the USSR in summer 1991 and has functioned, with certain intervals, until mid-December last year. Cards were mainly used to buy flour, groats, sugar and salt.

Social Democrats Support Lozoraitis

WS1101130993 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1627 GMT 8 Jan 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 160]

[Text] 8 January 1993—As K. Antanavicus had not informed the Council of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] about his intention to nominate himself for the presidential race and had not coordinated with it the question of his candidacy, he cannot count on his party's backing. The leadership of the SDP is inclined to support the candidacy of Stasys Lozoraitis who, in their opinion, should not be regarded as a right-wing candidate as this view would considerably diminish his chance of winning the election.

Presidential Candidate on Expanding Economic Ties

LD0801225093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1544 GMT 8 Jan 93

[Text] At a news conference today, Professor Kazimieras Antanavicius, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament's economic committee who is a candidate for the post of president of the Republic, called for the expansion of economic ties with Russia, Belarus, and Poland. At the same time, he rejected the possibility of Lithuania's integration with the CIS, Russia, or any other similar entity. Kazimieras Antanavicius said he decided to run for the Lithuanian presidency because of what he termed the republican authorities' indecisiveness at a time when more resolute steps are needed to resolve economic, social, and other problems.

Poll Shows 51 Percent Support Brazauskas

OW1001210993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1839 GMT 10 Jan 93

[By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin and edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An opinion poll held by the Baltic Center for Sociological Research revealed that 51 per cent of the Vilnius residents would like Brazauskas to become Lithuania's president.

This opinion poll was held before the nomination of candidates and Landsbergis's withdrawal from the presidential race. It also revealed that 10 per cent of the respondents intended to cast their votes for the leader of the parliamentary opposition; 17 per cent - for Lithuania's ambassador to the US Stasys Lozoraitis and 2 per cent - for independent candidate, member of parliament, Professor Kazimeras Antanavicius.

According to this opinion poll, 84 per cent of the Vilnius residents will come to the polling stations; 6 per cent will not, and 10 per cent have not yet decided.

The Lithuanian newspaper LETUVOS RITAS writes that Lozoraitis will be supported not only by the extreme right-wing forces, but also by 12 centrist parties and organizations.

Commentary Views Presidential Candidates

LD1101210493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 11 Jan 93

[Andrius Uzkalnis commentary]

[Excerpts] In the line of colorful presidential candidates, Kazimieras Petraitis, a pensioner and leader of the Republican Party, perhaps has the slimmest possibilities. Most of the voters can only say about this presidential candidate that he comes from Kaunas.

Another candidate, Kazimieras Uoka, former state controller and member of the Lithuanian Seimas, is known as one of the founders of the Sajudis and the founder of the Workers Union. However, the Sajudis and other right-wing forces have declared officially that they would not support his candidacy. The support by the Workers Union, if such is ever given, would hardly be impressive. (?Remigijus) Laukaitis, an actor at the Youth Theater, is the most exotic candidate. He is well-known to the people from a television entertainment program he became master of ceremonies of last year. However, it is rather difficult to imagine this man as a politician, especially as he has not discussed his campaign program thus far. He only mentioned that he was representing the eaters' public movement, which defends the violated rights of eaters.

Economist Kazimieras Antanavicius, member of the Lithuanian Seimas, [words indistinct]. He is one of the leaders (?and founders) of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party [SDP]. However, this rather influential political organization so far is not inclined to support Antanavicius, the more so because he had not coordinated his decision to run for president with the leadership of the party.

Although Antanavicius can hardly expect to get to the post of the president, he can, however, take away some percentage of votes from the other candidates, most probably from Algirdas Brazauskas, leader of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [DLP]. Bear in mind that the DLP cannot boast of great achievements in protecting the socially vulnerable people after almost a month and a half in power.

Meanwhile, Antanavicius is known for his unfavorable attitude toward the new capitalists of Lithuania and the rich, the people most despised by the most impoverished layers of society in Lithuania. He is convinced that it is private business that is to blame for all the so-called difficulties and hardships of the ordinary people.

Kazys Bobelis, member of the Lithuanian Seimas, the fifth candidate for president, so far has got only one point of popularity, which is the fact that he spent the greatest part of his life in the West, in the free world. A certain part of the society is convinced that representatives who have emigrated are (?more suitable for Lithuania) and that they are less spoiled by the (?Soviet) system. This could help Bobelis to take away some percent of the vote from Stasys Lozoraitis, Lithuanian ambassador to the United States. [passage omitted]

Kazys Lozoraitis and Algirdas Brazauskas, leader of the DLP, are seen as the most serious candidates to the post of the president. Brazauskas is chairman of the DLP, the party that won the elections. He is very popular in rural areas. He also has serious support in the cities. In spite of the fact that Brazauskas and the left-wing majority of the Seimas will hardly succeed in improving significantly the living standard of most of the people until the presidential elections, some steps taken by the new authorities—such as stricter control of prices on food products and the indexation of wages—could strengthen the confidence in the leader of the DLP.

The devaluation of the Lithuanian coupon could have a negative effect on Brazauskas' prestige [words indistinct]. The litas could be introduced as the only effective way out, although all the specialists maintain that the situation at the moment is not favorable for this. Indeed, bear in mind the leap in prices on energy and the inevitable emission of currency. The introduction of the Lithuanian currency would be a very strong argument in favor of Brazauskas, as a real and [word indistinct] step forward if the inflation does not reduce the real income of the people to such a degree that even brand new litas banknotes would not be able to cheer anyone up.

Brazauskas is supported only by his party, meanwhile the circle of supporters for Lozoraitis is widening rapidly. The latter candidate is supported by practically all the more or less influential right-wing and centrist political organizations that suddenly demonstrated an unexpected unity. This unity is especially surprising when remembering the Seimas elections when the centrists were seen by the right-wingers before the elections as the representatives of the pro-communist forces.

Lozoraitis can be attractive also to those voters who were already disappointed by all known Lithuanian politicians. Such voters can see the Lithuanian ambassador as a man who is far from the political squabbles of his country and who is able to assist in reaching agreement. Besides, Lozoraitis cannot be reproached for cooperation with the Soviet authorities because he was not in Lithuania during the Soviet period. This factor, however, could also have a negative effect on the candidate, because some people think that Lozoraitis—having spent the greatest part of his life far from Lithuania—would not be able to understand sufficiently the every day life worries and problems of the country .

At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to tell exactly whether Lozoraitis or Brazauskas would win the favor of the voters, especially because the election campaign has only just started. [passage omitted]

Action Sought on Location for Oil Terminal

OW1001173293 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1646 GMT 10 Jan 93

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The common position of the acting Lithuanian President, Algirdas Brazauskas, and the Premier, Bronislovas Lubys, concerning the necessity to urgently construct an oil terminal on the coast of the Baltic Sea can assist in the final solution of this issue.

This point of view was voiced by the general director of the Klaipeda oil enterprise, Martinas Gusiatinas, following the conference devoted to the construction of the

terminal. Brazauskas and Lubys were present at this conference for the first time as the Lithuanian leaders.

As it was reported earlier, a year and a half ago a governmental commission to choose the place of the construction was formed in Lithuania; however, its efforts, the decisions of the government and even of the parliament were fruitless and the construction was not started. The residents of Klaipeda, a city-port, and "the greens" of Lithuania demonstrated the greatest resistance to the construction of the terminal.

The session conducted by the government once more considered all variants developed earlier. According to the participants of the session, the Melnrage region of Klaipeda is the most appropriate place for the construction. However, there also was considered a variant to divide the tenurial into separate sections located at a distance of 10 kilometers from each other. The construction of the terminal is expected to cost $200 million. The Lithuanian Government will allocate $25-30 of this sum and the western banks intend to grant the rest sum in credit. The construction of the terminal will last approximately 3 years.

The next week the issue concerning the choice of the place for the construction will be submitted for consideration of the Lithuanian Cabinet of Ministers.